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OCCASIONAL PAPERS ooo

OF THE

BERNICE PAUAHI BISHOP MUSEUM OF POLYNESIAN ETHNOLOGY AND NATURAL HISTORY

VOL. VIII — NO. 3

PROVERBIAL SAYINGS OF THE TONGANS

BY

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HONOLULU, HAWAII
BISHOP MUSEUM PRESS
1922

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Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans

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INTRODUCTION

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The Tonga Islands or Friendly Islands consist mainly of low coral islets, the largest, Tonga or Tongatabu, being about 25 miles long from east to west, and rather less than half that distance in width at its broadest part. The group is divided into three well-defined smaller groups: Tongatabu and Eua with a cluster of surrounding islets to the south, the widely scattered Haapai archipelago in the center and Vavau to the north. Far to the northward of Vavau are the outlying islands of Niua Foou and Niua Tobutabu (Keppel's).

The majority of the islands in the Tongan group are low-lying and level, but notable exceptions occur. The surface of the island of Eua which rises in two great tiers to upwards of 1000 feet is marked by splendid rolling uplands and rugged cliffs. The imposing cone of Kao, the highest mountain in the Tonga Islands with an altitude of more than 3000 feet, and its longer and lower, but still lofty, neighbor, Tofua, form the western sentinels of the Haapai group. Farther north is the cone of Late. Vavau with its surrounding islands is hilly and picturesquely wooded. Niua Foou is also high and volcanic; Niua Tobutabu, and the neighboring peak of Tafahi, are each about 2000 feet high.

This widely scattered group is inhabited by a homogenous people speaking one language. It is asserted that formerly there were notable peculiarities in the speech of Eua and Niua Foou, and at the present day words not found in the remainder of the group are in use in Niua Foou. These differences, however, are not very considerable.

The suggestion that a collection of popular sayings should be made came first from the late Rev. Dr. George Brown, the

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pioneer missionary and explorer, who did much to make known many islands of the Pacific. In the present compilation the collection of "Idiomatical Phrases" in the Tongan Vocabulary of the late Dr. Shirley Baker[1] has been included, as well as many expressions scattered throughout the body of that work. Valuable as Dr. Baker's work is, it is unfortunate that he has printed whole phrases as single words, and without literal translations or explanations. In almost every instance we have been able to separate into their component words and explain these expressions, but there is a small residuum that has not been elucidated by inquiries made among the Tongans of today. Baker's work has been in constant use, and we desire to acknowledge our general indebtedness to it. In the few instances where we have not been able to explain phrases published by him exact quotations have been made.

ORTHOGRAPHY

In orthography we have followed what seemed to be the easiest method for European readers. The nasalized *g*, written as *ŋ* in the various Pacific dialects, we have written as *ng*. The pronunciation of course is like that of *ng* in the English word singer, and not like that in finger.

In Tonga itself animated discussion ranges around the letters *b* and *p*, two symbols which have had an unfortunate history. The Methodist missionaries who first regularly reduced the language to writing, used only *b*. The French Marists, who followed a few years later, wrote *p*. Subsequently an effort was made by Dr. Baker to combine the two. It is indubitable that there are sounds which strike the ear as an English *b*, and others as an English *p*, and yet others which it is extremely difficult for the ear to distinguish certainly as the one or the other. But the attempt to combine the two symbols has only introduced fresh confusion, as the language does not seem to contain two systematized series of sounds, the one *b* and the other *p*. The Tongan ear finds the greatest difficulty in distinguishing an English *b* from an English *p*.

[1] Baker, Rev. Shirley W., An English and Tongan vocabulary, also a Tongan and English vocabulary. Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

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and does not successfully separate the two sounds until considerable proficiency in English has been attained. An Englishman may pronounce Tongan words with either *b* or *p* without the Tongan noticing the difference, nor does the native pronunciation itself seem to be consistent. In fact the dispute between the two symbols is without meaning for the Tongans except in so far as ecclesiastical considerations affect his preference.

In the present work we have written *p* throughout, to be in agreement with the universal practice in writing other Polynesian languages, feeling that to use *b* would be to over-emphasize a probably non-existent difference between Tongan and kindred dialects.

Another vexed question is involved in the use of *s* and *j*. Speaking broadly, and subject to exceptions, the *s* found, for example, in Samoan, has become *h* in Tongan. There is, however, in modern Tongan a large series of words in which the syllable *si* occurs. As pronounced today this syllable should unquestionably be written with an *s*; but this pronunciation is obviously modern, and in books written about a century ago we find, not *si*, but *tchi* or *chi*. When the language was first reduced to writing this *tch* sound before *i* (compare Samoan *ti*) was written as *j*, and we have retained this symbol. It is interesting to note that although the passage of *tchi* into *si* has been almost completed, one may hear even today, but very rarely, the old pronunciation.

The glottal stop so frequent in Tongan has not been written. Essential as it is that the philologist should take account of it, it has not seemed to call for the emphasis of a separate symbol in writing material which is not intended for philological purposes. It may be remarked in passing that in Polynesian philology too little attention seems to have been paid to this stop. The Tongan ear detects its presence or absence with the same ease and certainty as that with which the English ear detects the difference between *b* and *p*, but the European frequently experiences as great difficulty in separating the stopped from the unstopped vowel as the Tongan does in differentiating between *b* and *p*.

Tongan orthography is in a state of deplorable confusion, but no other matters seem to call for special notice here. Of the remaining divergencies the most notable is that which exists in the

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writing of dual and plural pronouns, especially when preceded by prepositions, but it happens that these have not entered into our work.

SELECTION OF MATERIAL

In selecting material for inclusion in this collection we have interpreted broadly our title of Proverbial Sayings. We thought it best to commit errors of inclusion rather than of omission. Interesting idioms that could not be regarded strictly as proverbs have been given and a number of modern phrases also have been included. The language is being affected by contact with Europeans, mainly by the inclusion of foreign words in the vocabulary. For example, Fijian and Samoan words were incorporated before the advent of the European, but this enrichment is being accompanied today by a more than corresponding impoverishment in the loss of old words. This process is assisted by the teaching of English in many schools, and by the inevitable desire of the people to learn the language of the dominating culture. Some late innovations, therefore, have found their way into this collection. While our main interest has been in collecting genuine Tongan expressions, yet language is a living entity, and must be regarded in its entirety in any period. A genuine interest moreover attaches to any demonstration that the same psychological factors are at work in this age as in earlier times, and that the instinct of the epigrammatist has not been lost. Similar considerations lend value to the modern efforts of the native genius in poetical composition and story telling, although the later productions have not the historical interest of the earlier. Everything which reveals the working of the mind on the material presented to it has high worth.

Considerable pains have been spent in the effort to make this collection as complete as possible. Although some sources which might have yielded a little more have not been tapped, probably there are very few phrases current today that are not included, and there are many here which have passed out of general use. We feel the diffidence, however, that is inspired by the knowledge that forms of speech frequently become current in separate localities without passing into the general tongue of a whole people. We

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We
are fortunate, however, in that the Tongan collaborator has a wider 128
acquaintance than most of his fellows with the different parts of 114
the group.

Doubtless many ancient proverbs have perished. Every gener- 538
ation makes and forgets proverbs. The double process lies patently before our eyes in the Tonga of today. We are familiar with it in our own languages. What we have of the old phrases is probably but a residuum of the expressions that in successive generations have received the currency of common speech and have again dropped into oblivion.

METHOD

In dealing with these proverbs the method adopted has been 128
to give a literal translation of the Tongan phrase, though not always strictly word for word. Although we have followed Tongan rather than English idiom, we have not adhered so closely to Tongan idiom as to render the English ungrammatical or unintelligible. Our aim has been to follow Tongan idiom within the limits of intelligible English. This has been much easier in the case of short phrases like those in this collection than it would have been in translating longer passages. Following this translation is such explanation as is necessary to make clear the meaning and application of the Tongan phrase. In many instances a typical form of application has been indicated, but these uses should be regarded as merely typical, and not exclusive. In other cases nothing has been said about application, but if our efforts to make clear the meanings of the phrases have been successful, the manner of their application will be manifest. Except where special circumstances for the use of expressions have been explicitly mentioned it is safe to assume that what would seem a natural application to a European would seem so also to a Tongan. Where possible we have added stories connected with the expressions. Although doubtless some true derivations are indicated by these tales there are probably some cases where they are the fictions of popular etymology.

In the course of the work we have occasionally suggested English colloquialisms, and even slang, as of kindred meaning to Tongan phrases. Many of the Tongan expressions are of such a

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nature that they may be appropriately rendered by colloquialisms, and sometimes the nuance of an English vulgarism approaches that of a Tongan phrase. Both alike are the coinage of every-day speech, but there is an important difference in that the Tongan never speaks real slang; he always makes a proper use of true words. Of abusive language there is plenty, but it does not consist of words not current in ordinary speech, but of offensive suggestions and invitations couched in very plain terms. Typical Tongan billingsgate is the request that one eat things that nobody likes to eat, very frequently one's elderly relatives, or excrement. But in all this there is no slang, no employment of unusual or obsolete words.

TONGAN ORATORY

The average of oratorical ability of the Tongans is high. The Tongan seems to know very little of the nervous embarrassment which frequently affects the European when he is unexpectedly summoned to his feet before an assembly. To European taste the delivery of a Tongan oration has little of the polish and artistry that lend grace to the addresses of European masters of speech, but the crudeness lies rather in the manner than in the matter. The Tongan usually speaks to his gathering in a loud voice; frequently he shouts at it. An elderly Tongan clergyman whose felicitous utterances had won for him a deservedly high place among contemporary speakers once boasted to an Englishman of the distance at which he could be heard when he was in his physical prime. The Tongan speaks and shouts as his feelings direct. If he is excited, gestures and voice betray it.

But in spite of some crudities the Tongan is keenly sensible to apposite and graceful language. After all the things which he values in a speaker are those which appeal to a European. He likes a voice that is *malie*, that is, musical and resonant; he asks that words shall be *malie*, that is, that the diction shall be graceful; and he also desires that the words shall *aji*, that is, shall literally be penetrating, shall pointedly and clearly express what it is desired to express. Of these three qualifications, the proportion of Tongan orators who possess the first, the resonant musical voice, is not large to European ears, though probably greater to Tongan ears.

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In respect to the remaining qualifications, graceful language and 537
language that hits the mark, the average of Tongan oratory must 195
be rated high. Although in narrative Tongan tends to become more prolix than English and other European languages and has naturally a greater poverty of abstract terms, yet it is on the whole a vigorous and virile language.

The flowers of Tongan speech are perhaps best displayed on ceremonial occasions when orations are delivered before great chiefs, although to European taste these efforts are not so effective as less studied deliverances. Much of the gracefulness of diction is derived from a proper use of chiefly language, consisting of words applied only to chiefs and a skilful selection of terms befitting the august assembly.

In more ordinary speeches an appropriate use of chiefly words adds grace to the oration and phrases such as those in this collection lend not only grace, but are even more valued as belonging to the category of things that drive home one's point. A striking phrase, aptly chosen, makes the desired hit at a single stroke. Such phrases, indeed, are among the most valued adjuncts of oratory. The best Tongan addresses make large use of concrete illustration, and such phrases are frequently admirably fitted to be so employed.

DIVISION OF MATERIAL

We have broken up this collection into conveniently sized 128
blocks according to subject, but the division is rather arbitrary. For most of the expressions the section in which they should be placed has been clear; but some of the phrases might perhaps have been as appropriately assigned to some other division as to the one chosen. We trust that our choice of context will be found on the whole the most useful. A few cross references have been added, but it is obviously impossible to give real continuity to a collection of such diverse material. Within the several groups the arrangement is partly alphabetical, but this arrangement has been freely departed from in order to bring together similar phrases.

The classified table of contents^A makes apparent the proportions of phrases connected with the several spheres of human activity and shows, as was to be expected, that the sea, seaman- [538]

A /No such table of contents was published with this
^ text - Analyst/

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ship, and fishing furnished many proverbs. Under some of the most important and interesting headings the number of expressions is disappointingly small; but we have had to take the language as we found it.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We desire to express our thanks to those who have assisted us. We owe much to the Rev. R. C. G. Page and to Rev. A. M. Sanders of the Methodist Mission, to many of the Tongan staff of the Mission, and to Rev. C. P. W. Brown, now of New South Wales, but at one time connected with the Methodist Mission in Tonga. Mr. E. W. Gifford and Mr. W. C. McKern, who visited this group from August 1920 to May 1921 as members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition of the Bishop Museum, have not only supplied such phrases as they met with in the course of their investigations, but have also assisted with friendly counsel. Our indebtedness to the Tongan Vocabulary of the late Rev. Dr. Shirley W. Baker, in which is incorporated the earlier Tongan Vocabulary of the late Rev. S. Rabone, has already been mentioned. We have also derived considerable assistance from the Dictionnaire Toga-Français issued by the Marist Mission in Tonga (Paris, 1890), Pratt's Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language (Fourth Edition, Samoa, 1911), Dr. Augustin Krämer's Samoa-Inseln (Stuttgart, 1902 and 1903), and to a less extent from Hazelwood's Fijian Dictionary (second edition, edited by James Calvert, reprinted, London, 1914).

GARDEN AND FARM

1. A fakaamu mei: Waking wanting breadfruit.

Apparently mildly abusive of the people of Haapai, who are supposed to be not so well supplied with yams as are the people of Tongatabu, and accordingly are more dependent on the breadfruit and other plants. There is an anchorage in the island of Lifuka in Haapai, very close to where the "Port-au-Prince" was attacked, if not the identical spot, called *Fakaamumei*, "Wanting breadfruit," said to owe its name to a chief who used to live in the vicinity, and who in some way became famous for wanting breadfruit.

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2. Api faa toe tuu ai ae teve: In the well-stocked farm still stands the *teve*. 539 262

The *teve* (Amorphophallus) grows wild in the bush. Its root has an acrid taste, but is nevertheless sometimes eaten in periods of scarcity. The true farmer, however well stocked he is with other food plants, will not neglect this unpalatable shrub which will be a stand-by in case of the failure of his other crops.

3. Fakamotua ke tao ha tua: Playing the old man to bake a *tua* (a fine kind of yam).

The *tua*, in addition to being a specially good sort of yam, is also one of the hardest varieties to cultivate, and the man who can grow them well is obviously a real farmer. This phrase is a rebuke for a lazy man. Do you expect that sitting down with folded hands like a decrepit ancient is the way to get these fine yams to bake and eat? [244] [626]

4. Halahala a maala keli: Misses of well cultivated garden, that is, a yam garden in which the soil is loosened to a good depth and where fine large pieces of seed yam are used. 539 244

In such a plantation there may be some holes which miss, but those which do grow well will have such large roots as to compensate for the failures. Applied especially in such sports as boxing, fishing and the like, to one who may fail often to get his blow home, or to catch any fish, but when he does succeed scores so heavily as to redeem his previous failures. [526] [226]

5. Holi ke utuutu i he maala utu: To desire to glean in a plantation that is being harvested.

Utuutu is to look for yams in the bush growing wild on the sites of disused gardens. What one finds in this way he is welcome to, but such gleaning must not trespass on gardens which are still being used by their owners. [423]

6. Huo hoko hoka huo: Digging together, spades clashing. 539 578 461

If two men are working close together and one strikes his spade against his companion's the accident is likely to prove annoying and lead to a quarrel. The expression, therefore, is an injunction to keep strictly to the line of one's own job without irritating interference with neighboring laborers.

7. Kaka tuu ofi: Barren soil near at hand.

An inferior piece of ground conveniently close is more likely to be cultivated than better soil at a distance. The thing of fair quality that is near is better than a superior thing at a distance. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. 539 241

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539 461 829 **8. Nae hanga ki fe hoo sipeiti:** Where was your spade turned, that is, what has your spade been turned towards?

This is the usual retort to one who begs that which he should have prepared for himself. It refers primarily to the produce of the garden but is used of wealth generally. The word *sipeiti* is not Tongan, but a corruption of the English "spade." Whether, before contact with Europeans, there was a similar expression with the real Tongan word for a spade or digging-stick, we are unable to say.

539 241 461 **9. Matenga i vao kaka:** Fatigue in barren soil.

The word *vao* signifies a piece of scrub land. The husbandman in preparing for his garden selects a site and clears the brush. This expression is applicable to one who undergoes the labor and fatigue of clearing and planting a piece of land that proves unfertile. It is labor in vain.

539 173 643 581 **10. Ne ongo e fena ka ko Nua:** Although she has sprouted yet *Nua.*

An early Tui Tonga sent to the chief Loau for one of his daughters. Instead of asking outright for the girl the Tui Tonga's messenger was instructed to ask Loau for yams. Possibly the messenger himself did not know the purport of his errand but Loau at once understood, probably from previous agreement between himself and the Tui Tonga. Loau had two daughters, the younger not yet of marriageable age, the other named Nua, had recently borne a child. Loau, therefore, still in the language of the yam crop, returned answer to the Tui Tonga that one part of the crop was not yet ripe, and that the other part had already sprouted, using the word *fena,* which means a piece of seed yam which has been planted and commenced to grow. The Tui Tonga replied as above, meaning of course that although Nua had borne a child to someone else yet he still wanted her, for she was a very beautiful woman.

11. Oku fena ae tau kei mula ae tau: The crop is sprouting, the crop is still unripe.

As explained in No. 10, the reference is to the answer of Loau to the Tui Tonga, who sent for one of Loau's daughters. One is over-ripe, and the other is not ripe enough.

539 245 **12. Paki moe talaha:** Pick the remainders too.

In the breadfruit tree all the fruit do not ripen together, and so in plucking the crop the ripe fruit will be taken and the others left to mature. This expression means to strip the tree bare of unripe as well as of ripe fruit.

539 244 622 **13. Pala a kahokaho:** Rottenness of the *kahokaho.*

The *kahokaho* is a species of yam which grows to a great size and is highly valued. It is a chiefly yam, that is, one especially suitable for presentation to a chief. Even if this prime vegetable has commenced to decay yet it is a *kahokaho,* and something better than the best specimens of many other kinds of yam. Besides what may be called its ethical qualifications due to its rank in the yam hierarchy it is a physically fit tuber, as the remainder of the flesh is not affected by the beginnings of decay.

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14. Taka i fonua mahu: Going about or living in a fruitful land. 539 181

This indicates the general prosperity and comfort of a people when crops are good and none suffers want.

15. Tatau pe tua mo palai: The *tua* just like the *palai*. 539 244 554

The *tua* and the *palai* are two sorts of yam, of which the *tua* is much the finer. That which is excellent leaves its proper excellence, becoming the mere equal of things of no account; the chief descending to be no better than the commoner.

16. Toukai mo hono lohu: A crop of fruit and its *lohu*. 539 245

The crop referred to is the breadfruit. The *lohu* is the forked stick used for picking the breadfruit. When the breadfruit is ripe a man may find that the stick that he has used in a previous season is rotten, and so he has to get another. Probably these sticks are very seldom kept from season to season. The idea is that with the crop one must get a stick for that crop. So of the needs and opportunities of a particular period the men will be found to meet them. [829]

17. Ufilei fie ufi: An *ufilei* that wants to be a yam (*ufi*). 539 244 554 829

Ufi is the general name for all kinds of yam. The *ufi-lei* is a small sweet yam. This indicates one of these small sweet yams that wants to be some other sort of yam. Applied to people who not satisfied with being what they are try to be like someone else.

18. Utu ta lau: Harvesting, cutting off leaves. 539 244

This is an expression from the yam harvest and indicates primarily a man who digs his yams before they are quite ready, when the tops will have died off. He strikes or cuts off the tops as he digs his crop. The application of such an expression in Tongan is similar to what it would be in English.

PLANTS AND TREES

19. Akau tuu hala: Tree standing (in a) road, and so liable to be splashed with mud, struck with knives, or otherwise injured. 539 824

This proverb or this explanation is probably modern, as before the introduction of wheeled traffic and of steel implements it would seem that the road-side tree was not exposed to especial injury. However, even under ancient conditions the road-side tree would offer itself first to those in search of timber. [313]

20. Faifaimalie naa ke pakii ha lau telie: Go carefully lest thou pluck (break off) a *telie* (*Terminalia catappa*, or *T. litoralis*) leaf. 539 784 829

This phrase is a warning to proceed with care lest a tabu be broken. We do not know its origin.

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539 245 524 857 **21. Faka-hopo taokave:** Making *taokave* jump.

The *taokave* is a kind of coconut which bears small fruits, but carries a large number on the bunch. As the fruits mature the press of so many on the same stalk constantly forces nuts off the bunch. There is a boys' game called *faka-hopo taokave*, which consists in a number of boys lying down side by side all pressing in towards the center. Any boy who gets shoved out of place on to the top of the other must then go to one of the ends. The expression is used proverbially of a number of people giving someone the cold shoulder, crowding out an individual whom they do not want.

[578]

537 [137] **22. Fakatuamelie ki he ete mea oku tau he fuu telie:** Relying confidently on my thing that is hanging in the *telie* tree (*Terminalia catappa* or *T. litoralis*).

There is an old story about one who used to hang food in a tree for another to get. If the food were good and tasty it was hung in a *telie* tree, but if not very appetizing it was put in a *tavahi* tree *(Rhus taitensis?)*, The person for whom these supplies were left always anticipated with confidence that what he got from the *telie* would be first-rate, but never expected anything very good from the *tavahi*. Used generally of relying with full confidence on anybody or anything. (See No. 23.)

23. Fakatuatamaki ki he ete mea oku tau he fuu tavahi: Without confidence in my thing that is hanging in the *tavahi* tree.

To expect little good from any person or thing. (See No. 22.)

539 797 231 554 **24. Feji lou-ji:** Breaking off *ji* leaves.

This is recent, and is said to owe its being to the missionary's cow. The leaves of the *ji* (*Cordyline terminalis*) are used for cow feed, and a man who wanted to get into the missionary's good graces would recommend himself by his readiness to get food for the cow. Used generally of ingratiating services.

539 245 **25. Fokotuu niu:** Piling up coconuts.

Coconuts are very plentiful in Tonga, and large heaps are gathered. Applied to that which is in great quantity.

539 461 **26. Foui ne fai:** The *foui* tree did it.

This is the literal translation following the story told of the origin of the expression. The story is that a man and his wife lived together in a compound fenced all round, but at one spot a *foui* tree growing just outside the boundary leaned over within the compound. The woman often asked her husband to cut this tree down, but he procrastinated until at length a man of irresistible charm climbed up the tree and, thus gaining access to the inside of the compound, successfully paid his addresses to the lady of the house. To her husband's wrath she retorted that his own

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dilatoriness in cutting down the tree had provided a mode of ingress to the disturber of domestic peace; "It was your *foui* that did it." 539 [461]

The application is exactly parallel to the English phrase that it is So-and-so's own fault. The full expression as given above is not always used, but one frequently says, "It is his own *foui*," that is, "It is his own fault."

27. Hange ha kainikavea: Like a parasite. 539

Kainikavea means a tree which has taken root in the living trunk or branches of another tree finally growing so large as to envelop and conceal its host. The banyan has this habit. Proverbially the phrase is used of a supplanter, one who usurps the rights and privileges of another. 824 571 829

28. Hange ha lou milemila: Like a strip of *milemila*. 539

The *milemila* is a strip of the outer cuticle of the leaves of plants such as the coconut and fan-palm. These strips turn white when dried and bunches of them are used as head ornaments by warriors and dancers. The expression is used of things that are thin and light, and of thin people. 245 824 301 [826]

29. Hange ha lou vahivahi: Like a *vahivahi* leaf. 539

The *vahivahi* is a little plant found in considerable quantity on the island of Eua, whose leaves are in constant motion even when the breeze is scarcely perceptible. Used of one who is very obedient, is never still but always running about doing the bidding of others. 824 554 829

30. Hange ha mahelei to: Like a strip of sugar cane. 539

Applied to a thin person, a narrow piece of cloth, and generally to meagre, scanty objects, the comparison being to a thin, sharp-edged, pointed piece of the outer bark of the sugar cane. 824 826

31. Hange ha niu afangia: Like a nut-tree blown by a hurricane. 539 824 522

Used especially of a man who sways with laughter, like a nut-tree swayed by the wind.

32. Hange ha niu auulu: Like a nut tree with the leaves cut off. 539

This is Tongan banter of a tall person. A coconut tree with the leaves cut off is certainly a very lanky looking object. A touch of poignancy is given to the expression by the fact that the trees so treated are never good bearing varieties, but an unfruitful kind that nobody cares much about. 824 826

33. Hange ha tahii toa: Like heart of iron-wood (*Casuarina equisetifolia*). 539 824 157

Hard, firm, as we say, "heart of oak."

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539 824 826 **34. Hange ha tua-niu:** Like the midrib of a coconut leaflet.
Used of thin persons or animals, and of small, thin things in general.

539 824 **35. Hange ha vai fa:** Like pandanus water.
The meaning is, scattered in all directions like the water dripping on all sides from the leaves of the pandanus during a shower of rain.

36. Hange ha vao masalu ngaue: Like a field of waving *masalu*.
The *masalu* is a small plant found in quantity on the prairies of the island of Eua. These plants stand close together, and when the wind blows graceful undulations pass over the surface of the field, not unlike the waves that pass through a field of standing wheat. Applies to graceful action. (Compare No. 179.)

539 262 [137] **37. Hange kuo kai teve:** As though had eaten *teve* (*Amorphophallus campanulatus*).
This plant causes stinging and inflammation in the mouth, and may even bring on death. (A. Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, II Band, p. 384.) By proper treatment, however, it may be made fit for food. Used of one who has done something which he rues.

539 571 **38. Heka he vaa mei popo:** Getting on the branch (that is) almost rotten.
This has its obvious application of depending on a weak support.

539 824 **39. Hoko pe fau moe fau:** Joining hibiscus with hibiscus, or hisbiscus coming after hibiscus.
[283] [554] The comparatively tough inner bark of the wild hibiscus (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) is frequently used as cord, and the expression for hibiscus to be followed by hibiscus is very commonly employed of a strong capable man in any position being followed by another whose qualifications are equally good. It is said that in former times when a Tui Tonga died the body was not buried in the usual way, but that the head and legs were cut off and replaced by the head and legs of another man slain for the purpose. Should this victim be a chief the joining of his head and legs to the trunk of the dead Tui Tonga was said to be a joining of the hibiscus with the hibiscus. There is actual tradition of a Tui Tonga whose body had been disfigured by a rail being supplied with limbs for burial by the devotion of another chief.

539 824 554 643 764 623 565 **40. Hoko ae fau moe polata:** Joining banana stem with hibiscus, or banana stem coming after hibiscus.
This is the reverse of No. 39 and indicates a strong capable man being succeeded by one of inferior qualifications. This too, is referred to the burial of the Tui Tonga. If the man who supplied the legs and head to be interred with the Tui Tonga's trunk were of low rank a piece

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of banana stem was said to be joined to the hibiscus. A strip of the banana stem of course makes a very poor ligature, being loose fibered and brittle.

41. Hu mata niu: Entering eye of nut.

There are three depressions at the top of the coconut, but only one of these marks a hole. The unskilled person might try to open the nut by piercing one or other of the two false eyes, but the experienced man goes for the right hole. Hence the expression means to get right on the spot, but is used in the bad, or at all events unpopular, sense of kindness confined to one's own immediate relatives or friends; kindness confined to one particular spot.

42. Kai kape fifiji: Eating hot *kape* (*Arum costatum*).

One who has eaten a piece of this root at the pungent stage of its growth will find his mouth so burnt that he will not be likely to join in the conversation and laughter of those about him. This picture of the man sitting silent with his stinging mouth is used of one who, ashamed of a wrong done by him, or for some such reason, sits taciturn in the company of others.

43. Koe vaavaa he koe tagata: Branchy, for 'tis man.

Man, with the wide and numerous ramifications of his relationships, is the most branchy of all things. "Do you call so-and-so a many branched thing? Why, it is nothing compared to man."

44. Malakia a moojipo: The *moojipo* trodden down.

This plant is frequently found in the road-ways, but lives on in spite of being walked upon. So the *moojipo* has passed into a proverb of that which bears up stoutly against ill-treatment and adversity: comes up smiling after every blow.

45. Mamalu a mohuku: Overshadowing of grass.

One is overshadowed by forest trees, and this means literally one who undertakes to make a clearing on land where apparently large trees are standing, and finds that the "trees" are but weak and easily cut plants, "mere grass." So of any task seemingly formidable which, when undertaken, proves easy.

46. Motu lou-tou: Broken *tou* leaf.

The leaf of the *tou* (*Cordia aspera*) is very brittle; a slight pull snaps the leaf completely asunder. So used of that which is broken right across, completely severed.

47. Nonofo ae makahunu moe niu motuu: The *makahuna* (hard volcanic rock) living with the ripe coconut.

These rocks were used for making the stone adzes and were handy for splitting open a coconut, and breaking it up if necessary. The phrase,

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539 245 412 829 therefore, indicates the coconut living with that which destroys it. Used of one who is in close contact with that which is his undoing. (Compare No. 243.)

539 245 858 **48. Potopoto a niu mui:** Wisdom of a young nut tree.

A young tree will sometimes bear a crop as though it were clever at that game, but will pass fruitless through another season. So children will at times behave with all the discretion of adults, but such conduct cannot be expected to be the permanent characteristic of the young.

539 245 **49. Tautefua a niu motuu:** A ripe nut hanging by itself.

There is only one nut on the stalk, but that one is perfect and ripe. A thing of which there are very few, and those few are of fine quality. A man who stands alone, but who is exceedingly capable.

539 184 **50. To lou oji:** Leaf fallen finished, that is, all the leaves fallen.

This is not a familiar form of expression in most parts of the Tongan group, in fact it is ungrammatical; it may have originated in Niua Foou where it seems that such a form is permissible. The phrase is not known, or at least not generally known in Tongatabu. Baker gives, "destitute"; poverty, or rather the poor, being represented as a tree denuded of leaves.

539 824 **51. Tupu lautolo:** Growing (like) *lautolo*.

The *lautolo* is a fast-growing, strong-creeping plant. To grow like this plant is to grow quickly and strongly.

539 244 578 **52. Tuutuu kau tala:** Stand about I'll tell.

Used for one who makes slighting or offensive remarks about another who, unknown to the speaker, is near by and listening. There is a plantain called the *tuutuu-kau-tala*. Both the name of the plant and the meaning of the expression are connected with the legendary hero Muni, who was cast away at sea at, or before, birth and washed ashore on the island of Lofanga in Haapai. He was found and adopted by a childless couple of Lofanga, but as he grew to manhood his adoptive parents became anxious to get rid of him. Returning home one evening Muni overheard from just outside the house his supposed parents talking about him inside the house. He leaned against a plantain, of the sort now called *tuutuu-kau-tala*, and heard what they had to say. There is a couplet referring to this incident:

Hau ai o tuu kau talai	Come and stand while I abuse
Aeni ne ui ai he hopa ni.	You after whom was named this plantain.

539 824 571 **53. Ulu akaua:** Overshadowed with trees.

A tree that is dwarfed, unable to reach its full stature and vigor, by reason of a crowd of other trees standing close about it. Used of a warrior who is overcome by the number of foes that press together upon him. Generally of one who, no matter how great his spirit and skill, is overwhelmed by the multitude of difficulties that confront him.

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FOOD

PREPARATION

54. Fengutu a fei-umu ota: To defend badly cooked (insufficiently cooked) food. 539 571

To defend one's badly done work against the criticisms of others, as the man who has prepared and served underdone food may persist, in spite of all that others urge, in declaring that his feast is done to a turn.

55. Fifi ika maka: Wrapping rock fish in leaves. 539

Rock fish are those of fine quality. In cooking fish are frequently wrapped up in a sheath of plaited coconut leaves. The object of this is to keep the fish intact, and is a method employed specially in cooking fish of good quality. A "rock" fish is worth the trouble of plaiting the leaflets round it. Taking pains over a thing that is worth the care. (See No. 203.) 252

56. Fifi ika vale: Wrapping up a fish of no account.

This is the reverse of No. 55. Taking great pains over what is not worth the trouble.

57. Hange ha feiumu uha: Like cooking in the rain.

The preparation of food which is carried out in the open, or with the protection only of very inadequate shelters, is rendered difficult by rain; the food is liable not to be as well cooked in wet as in fine weather. This phrase is a rebuke to those who have performed badly a piece of work, although the conditions under which they labored were favorable. [461]

58. Hange ha fokifokihi tunu: Like the turning of food baked (in the embers).

Food cooked in this way must not be left alone, but constantly turned. Use of a thing that is in constant requisition.

59. Hiki lepo: Moving the *lepo* (leaves with which the earth oven is covered on the outside). 539 252 372 501 571

It is used of taking advantage of the temporary absence of anyone to usurp that which belongs to him, "to jump his claim". It is said that the expression originated in one of the voyages of the great canoe called the *Lomipeau*, which is asserted to have brought in one trip from Uvea to Tonga the stones for many of the great sepulchral vaults of the highest chiefs. Seagoing canoes used to be equipped with a *talafu*, a large wooden bowl filled with earth in which ovens were made to cook the food. The *Lomipeau* had an immense *talafu* commensurate with her own huge size, so large that a number of ovens could be dug in it at the one time. It is the practice when the food is taken out of the oven to put aside the leaves with which it was covered, and not mix the leaves belonging to various ovens.

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539 On board the *Lomipeau*, however, was a man named Lasukau who disre-
252 garded this rule and moved things round at his pleasure; but no one dared
372 to remonstrate with him because of his personal strength and prowess. For
301 one to place his *lepo* at the side of an oven is to mark that oven as his; for
571 another to move this *lepo* is to disregard the claims of the first man.

539 **60. Hina e toumohomoho:** The plantain leaves (*toumohomoho*)
252 are white.
824

Plantain and banana leaves are used for covering up food in the native oven. When the food is taken up these leaves are called *toumohomoho* and are used to line the baskets in which the food is taken to the house where it will be eaten. These leaves are then cast aside as of no further use. At first they are green, but as they fade their color becomes whitish. If one sees such leaves lying about a house their color is an indication of how long they have been there, so that to say that the leaves are white means that it is a long time since there has been a feast.

539 **61. Kailu fa he tuunga u:** To rummage for scraps in the middle
252 of the oven.
777

372 This is used of one whose aims are humble but who meets with an unexpected stroke of luck. Just as the man who, searching for remains in places where food has been cooked or eaten, suddenly comes upon unanticipated plenty, here denoted by the middle and lowest part of the oven where the food is most in quantity and best in quality. *Tuunga u*, translated the middle of the oven, means literally the standing-place of the *u*, the stick with which the hot stones are arranged in the earth oven. This stick is used to arrange the stones up the sides of the hole, beginning at the bottom, so that the standing-place from which the stick begins its operations is the lowest and midmost part of the oven.

539 **62. Kina umu tala ki tahi:** Depending on the sea for the meat
226 part of a meal.

Looking to an uncertain source of supply; trusting to a capricious support. So many are the hazards of the sea that there is a very good chance of a late dinner if the joints cannot be found ashore.

539 **63. Kuma jii vela hono iku:** Little rat, his tail burnt.
262

Formerly the native rat, a vegetable feeder, was used for human food. The rat at best is but a small animal, and therefore when he is being cooked care should be taken not to burn his tail off. Being served with tail complete makes the most of what size he is. This expression, an expostulation against burning off the tail of the rat, has passed into a proverb for conserving as carefully as possible all there is of any small object.

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64. Namu ma ka nae ilo ahoa: Smelling of bread but known by daylight. 539 262 252

The word translated "bread" indicates the fermented paste of the breadfruit and other plants. The fruits were buried in pits and kept for long periods. This fermented paste made up in little balls and cooked, is a nourishing and tasty food. Most strangers, however, are debarred from sampling it by the initial difficulty of overcoming their repugnance to this dainty's extremely gamey perfume, which is as objectionable to the European as some cheeses are to the Tongan. The expression originates in the story of the handsome man *(manaia)*, Vainuku of Eua. A certain Female Tui Tonga, went to Eua to see Vainuku, and on landing on the island sent one of her women to procure fire. In spite of his attractiveness Vainuku liked making up and cooking "bread," and the woman found him in the cookhouse engaged in preparing food for the recently arrived visitors. The woman pulled off Vainuku's turban, and seeing him with head uncovered knew who he was, for it was his hair that was his chief beauty. When night came Vainuku went to court the lady visitors, but they all cried out in disgust at the man smelling of "bread," until he came to the woman who had seen him in the cookhouse; she, having seen him by daylight, knew who he was.

65. Nofo e fononga kae ui moa: The visitors having no share, but calling fowls. 539 574

This indicates a man who calls the fowls, not to entertain his guests as he should, but for some other purpose.

66. Ota fuifui vai: Raw fish rinsed with (fresh) water. 539

Certain sorts of fish are often cut up and eaten raw. The flavor of such fish is most appreciated when they are rinsed with sea-water; they are held to be spoiled if fresh water is employed. This is spoiling a good thing by bad handling, and is applied to one who seeing something he likes, for example, an article or piece of work, tries to make one of the same sort for himself, but bungles it. He spoils a good pattern by his unskillfulness. 262 252

67. Ota tae fuifui: Raw fish not rinsed.

Raw fish is usually rinsed with sea-water before being eaten. This is sed of a thing not properly done.

68. Tae ngali vai: Unfit (for) water, or perhaps unworthy (of) water. 539 262

This expression is used of one who has a good reputation and does something unworthy of himself. Literally this expression seems to refer to the eating of raw fish, as No. 67, and to the undesirability of preparing the fish with fresh water. A good fish spoiled by the wrong sort of water; and so a good person spoiled by the wrong sort of behavior. 252 829

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539 252 264 **69. Paki ua uli taki taha vau:** Break in two—dirty. Each one scrape.

Refers directly to food such as the yam which has been baked in the embers. Ordinarily the yam, for instance, when taken from the fire would first be scraped clean and then divided among those who are to eat it. This indicates that there must be haste. The yam taken from the fire is to be divided while the charred outside skin is still on, and each one will [574] clean his piece for himself. One of the commonest motives urging to such haste would seem to be the apprehension that an unwelcome visitor will soon be coming to share in the meal. Generally of that which is to be done quickly.

539 252 **70. Poto hono fijifiji kae vale hono fokifokihi:** Skilled at its flipping but unskilled at its turning.

The Tongans flip cooking food with the nail of the fore-finger to test whether it is done or not. Food being cooked in the embers must be turned from time to time. The phrase indicates a man who does none of the work, is not willing to give the food a turn now and again, but is to the fore when it comes to finding out whether it is done or not. Obvious application to a lazy, greedy person.

539 262 [137] **71. Talia a umu kape:** Waiting for a meal of *kape* (*Arum costatum*).

At certain stages of its growth the *kape* is too pungent to be eaten. Hungry men, therefore, may wait for a meal of this root to be cooked only to find after all that they cannot eat it. So the expression is used of disappointed expectation.

539 252 262 251 **72. Teka a ma momoko:** Chucking cold *ma* about.

Ma, applied now to European bread, is the fermented fruit of certain plants, most commonly of the breadfruit, prepared by burying it in pits. This method of treatment, which is falling into almost complete disuse, was a very common and successful way of preserving a supply of food. Not only was the uncooked food thus kept for an indefinite length of time, but when cooked it remained good for a long period. One could throw it about anyhow and it still turned up good when wanted again. So of anything which, in spite of hard usage, is still good when wanted.

539 262 252 **73. Toki kovi a niu lelei:** Good nut is just bad.

Coconut is much used and highly esteemed in Tongan cookery. An article of food which cannot be rendered palatable by coconut must be very bad indeed. The upshot of cooking such a hopelessly unpalatable article with nut is that so much good coconut is merely wasted. Generally of that which is so extremely bad that contact with what is good cannot improve it, but the whole lot is wasted and spoiled.

[266] A story connected with this phrase is that the notorious cannibal Kaifakaau, who was alive at the time of the introduction of Christianity, once tried the experiment of cooking the genital organs of a woman with

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coconut, but found that he had produced a most unsavory dish and had to throw it all away. He had merely wasted so much good coconut. 539 262 252 266

74. Ua ji ua pooi: Eating *ji* eating *pooi*.

The *pooi* is a preparation of food, which before the introduction of sugar used to be sweetened with the root of the *ji (Cordyline terminalis)*. If one ate up the *ji* beforehand he would have to go without the *pooi*. You cannot eat your cake and have it. 539 262 263

75. Umu toona e he vale: Food cooked by the fool. 539

Good food that has been spoiled by a bad cook; anything good that has been spoiled by bad treatment. 252

EATING AND DRINKING

76. Aho kai fonu: Day on which turtle is eaten. 539

The turtle is a luxury, hence day of treat. It is said that this expression originated with a love adventure of the handsome Lepuha, who lived at Leimatua in Vavau. This good-looking and amorous gentleman came in his wanderings to the house of a woman who lived at the back part of the island, and whose face was disfigured by ulceration. Lepuha had intercourse with the unfortunate woman, who said to him as he was about to depart, "This is a day on which turtle has been eaten." Lepuha ungallantly replied, "*Mavae lua*," that is, "Going away and vomiting," implying the disgust which he felt at having cohabited with so grievously disfigured a woman. This phrase, *Mavae lua*, is used proverbially for the after disgust one may feel at something he has done. 262

77. Mavae lua: Separating (and) vomiting. (See No. 76.)

78. Fakahali a vale: Making slip of foolish, that is, the foolish person's way of making food slip down. 539 264

Fakahali, making slide, means moderate eating, but the moderation of a foolish person, or of the improvident young, is to eat to repletion without a thought for the future or for anyone who may go hungry just beside him. Applied to eating the expression means to attend only to one's own appetite without regard for others or for the future. Used generally of improvident, foolish conduct, as of a man who is not a sailor going out by himself in a boat or of one who is not a carpenter undertaking to build a house. 183

79. Fakaua mea molie: Hungry for sweet things.

Baker renders: "To wish to eat sweet or superior food only." It might be used of one who desires only the good things of life.

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539 264 **80. Fakauloula kai:** Doing a dance with the food.

A man who is distinguishing himself by fine trencher work, blissfully unaware that his performance is not giving as much satisfaction to his hosts or co-diners as to himself, may be called to his bearings by being asked not to do a dance with the food. An explanation has been offered to the effect that as the onlookers derive pleasure from the dance, so the greedy man behaves as though the spectators derived satisfaction from his exhibition. It may, however, be nothing more than a reference to the nimble movements that the food is being made to execute.

81. Fangafanga uu tau he tae: Preparing to eat, getting to rubbish.

Disappointed expectations, as of one who anticipates food, but finds that there is nothing but rubbish (literally dung) to eat.

539 565 622 554 **82. Fie uo kae kaipo:** Wanting friends (literally crowd) but selfish.

This is primarily applicable to the chiefs, about whom the people were wont to gather. A chief who treated his people kindly and fed them well would find many happy to live with him. A chief who selfishly ate the best of everything himself was not taking the right measures to attract about him a numerous body of followers. So used of a man who, for the sake of prestige or companionship, desires to have many people about him, but who is too selfish to treat them with that generosity which will win their esteem and make them contented to live with him.

539 262 **83. Hange ha inu vai lolo:** Like drinking oil liquid, that is, liquid adjunct to food into whose composition the expressed milk of the coconut has entered.

Coconut enters very largely into the preparation of native dishes and is also used alone as a relish to yams and vegetables in default of meat. The phrase indicates one who, if nothing better is offering, is quite ready to enjoy his food with a little coconut milk as the only relish. So used of a man who is easy to suit in the matter of food, and who shows no fastidious preferences.

539 272 273 177 **84. Inu ti inu kota, Kakapapalangi fakatonga:** Drink tea, drink *kota;* European fashion, Tongan fashion.

The *kota* is an infusion of fermented coconut which has been ground and strained. The phrase, which is of course modern, indicates one who at one time is anxious to adopt European standards and modes of life and at another clings to the old Tongan ways.

539 264 **85. Jii a maanga ngako:** Small mouthful (but) fat.

A small quantity of food which is tasty and luscious. Used generally of that which is small in quantity but of excellent quality. (Compare No. 203.)

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86. Kai-aji fakatuha umu: Diner-out correspondent with food. 539
A man who keeps his eyes open and regulates his visits to other people's homes to correspond well with the times when a meal is to be got. (Compare No. 187.) 574

87. Kai halafaki: Eating on the short-cut. 539
This is not a very satisfactory translation. The word *halafaki* means to go round by some other track and wait on ahead for those who are coming along the ordinary road. As applied to eating the idea is to take food before the regular meal comes on, and thus to get ahead of others, waiting with satisfied hunger for them to catch up. 264

88. Kai malo ta-foa: Eating kindness that wounds. 539
Indicates a kindness that is spoiled by the way in which it is done, as of one who makes a present of food to another but accompanies his gift with unkind remarks. The recipient may eat the food but he is wounded by what it said to him. So generally of apparent gratification with that which hurts. 431 578 576

89. Kai meakai kovi: Eat bad food. 539
Get into trouble, be in difficulties. 264 183

90. Kai mea vevela: Eat hot stuff, that is, to get into trouble.

91. Kai melie: Sweet food.
Used of that which is specially good, or of persons of unusual excellence. It is used of Goliath in the best translation of the Bible into Tongan (that of the late Dr. J. E. Moulton).

92. Kai umu aipe foi i he ngaue ae malohi: Coward ever eating food through the work of the strong. 539 264
One of those bitter plaints, common the world over, of one man doing the work and braving the danger whilst another reaps the benefits. 571

93. Kaikai afua: Eating delicately, with special likes and dislikes. 539 264
Especially refers to the desire of a pregnant woman for particular foods, and used proverbially of conduct like that of a pregnant woman, or befitting a pregnant woman. 843

94. Koe kai ika pe ae jio ki motu: All the fish eating is looking at (or thinking about) an island. 539 484
If one stays at one of the small out-islands he will probably be well placed to get as much fish as he wants. Should one wish to go away for a holiday on an island, and enjoy the plentifulness of fish, but finds him- 262 152

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539 484 262 152 self unable to make the trip, as for example, through lack of a boat, it is said of him that all the fish he will be able to get will be by thinking about the island; he will have a purely imaginative treat. The expression is used of unsatisfied desires generally, as of a man who wishes to marry a particular woman but can get no further in his courtship than going to visit her and seeing where she lives.

539 264 183 **95. Koto kai a kui:** All the eating of a blind man; the reckless eating of a blind man.

Used of that which is done recklessly, ignorantly, like the blind man who cannot see to choose his food, but eats what his hand lights on.

96. Kuhu te elo pato te emo: Puffing at the stink smacking in licking, that is, to utter the wry-faced "pugh" characteristic of one offended by a bad smell, and at the same time to make the clicking or smacking noise of one who is licking up food.

Used of those who eat bad food in spite of its offensiveness.

[197] [192] Linguistically this is very interesting. The word "*te*" is apparently the article found in Maori and many other Polynesian languages (Hawaiian, *ke*) although not found, at least as an ordinary article, in either Tongan or Samoan.

97. Longo moe fatu: Silent with the belly.

Applied to one who sits silent under rebuke, making no effort to exculpate himself, but whilst he is thus tacitly accepting the blame of what is charged against him, he is also enjoying its benefits. The original idea is that of one who has eaten to full satisfaction where he had no right to eat. When reprimanded he sits silent accepting the blame, but he sits silent with a full belly.

539 262 554 **98. Pani puaka pani fonu:** Smeared with pig, smeared with turtle.

The pig and the turtle are favorite and valuable delicacies and will be found more in the abodes of the chiefs than anywhere else. For anyone to carry about on his person the smell of this rich fare is a sign that he is a person of some consequence.

539 829 **99. Nifo tuu he vale:** Teeth in a foolish man.

Good instruments thrown away on one who cannot use them. The wise man procures food for his teeth to chew, but the fool is unable to make this provision.

539 461 **100. Pipiko moe nifo:** Lazy with the teeth, lazy although there are teeth.

Men have teeth with which to eat, and hands with which to work and to get that which will satisfy the teeth. This is used of a lazy man

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who refuses to work and get that which will meet the legitimate demands of the teeth. 539 461

101. Teu ke hihi kae ola: About to cut out but gnawing. 539

This refers primarily to the coconut. A nut has been split open in order to cut the flesh out with a knife when someone greedily seizes it and chews the flesh out with his teeth, a thing befitting an animal or bad-mannered man. May be applied to a thing which is about to be carried out in a proper, decent way, but is actually done in an unseemly manner. 264 576

PRESENTING, BEGGING, KEEPING FOOD

102. Kai pe lea: Just eating speech. 539

Used of a man for whom there is no portion when the food presented to a chief is divided and distributed, but to whom the chief speaks. The individual thus honored by the chief will feel that he has after all some part in the ceremony although he has not received a present of food. 264 554

103. Koe ma ka te mate: Ashamed, but I'll die. 539

Used in the first place of begging food. What is the use of being ashamed to ask for food, seeing that if you do not get it you will die, or be very hungry. (It is very common in Tongan to say that one is *mate*, dead, of hunger, thirst, of desire for some thing, without indicating any extreme stress.) This expression is applied generally to making requests of any kind. 431 735

104. Motu ka nae navei: Broken but it was bound. 539

Navei are small cords passed through the top of a basket, especially of food, and fastened round the pole on which it is slung. These cords are not the main lashing, which is a long cord or vine passing several times round the basket and pole. The idea is that although the large lashing has been adjusted yet it is well to avoid risks by adding these auxiliary bindings. The expression has this sense of making assurance doubly sure. Sometimes the phrase is rendered, *Motu ka nae kavei*, which has the same meaning as the above except that the *kavei* is the main lashing. This, which seems to be more familiar to the younger generation of Tongans, may be applied to a mishap which has not been the effect of negligence. There has been an accident but those whose business it was to look after the matter in question evidently did their work carefully and thoroughly. 415 482 [829]

105. Puia a kaiaji: Sending a forager. 539

When one is sent to procure food for a party he will be the first to eat of what he has obtained. So used of one who is the first to reap the advantage of something that he has been sent to do, or to get. 156 571

106. Ua ma kae mae ma: Eat *ma* but be careful of *ma*. 539

Ma is the food made from fermented fruit. This expression indicates literally one who has a supply of *ma* of his own, but is very sparing 262 183 571

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539 262 183 571 of it, and when he wants to eat, begs food from someone else. Generally of selfish behavior of this sort. (Compare No. 134.)

107. Tufa kau tufa: Distribute. I'll distribute.

539 431 571 Primarily refers to one who is not satisfied with the share which falls to him in a distribution of food or goods, but who promises himself to even things up when his turn comes to direct the apportionment of gifts. Go ahead now with your distribution and give me this miserable little portion, but the time will come when I have my turn at dividing and it will be a small gift that you will get then. Thence used generally of tit for tat.

108. Tuku umu fakavajivaji: To leave food in the Vajavaji way.

Vajivaji is the name of a people in Fiji, who when they take a present of food to anyone have the custom of waiting to get a portion for themselves. This has become proverbial in Tonga for giving a thing and then asking for a portion of it.

539 264 572 **109. Umu pouli kae ai hoota:** Food in the dark but with a friend there.

When food is taken up from the oven in the dark there will be more or less of a scramble in which some are likely to come off badly, but a man who has been so placed that he cannot very well look after himself will yet fare very well if he has a well placed friend who is mindful of his interests. It is applicable to those cases, very numerous in civilized as in more primitive societies, where in the distribution of favors the influential man on the spot remembers his less advantageously situated friend.

539 262 **110. Uto taunga mo kuma oku ua:** Coconut pith put away to keep and two rats.

The *uto* is the sweet spongy substance inside a coconut which has germinated. It is frequently eaten, as a sweetmeat rather than as a regular food, and was particularly used to pacify children. Should some of this be put away to keep for another occasion and one rat find it out there will probably be something left over for the original owners, but if two or more rats get to work on it the whole will soon be finished. So the expression is used of anything which the owner is reserving for himself, and which other people, not merely a single person whose appetite might be satisfied while there is still something left, but a number, find out and wholly consume.

DOING OF TASKS. CRITICISM

539 461 **111. Fai faka-muomua-nima:** Do with front of hand.

Doing a task half-heartedly, touching it, as it were, only with the tips of the fingers instead of grasping it heartily and sincerely with the whole hand. (Compare No. 416.)

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112. Fakamohe mei ulu: To put to rest from head. 539 461

Used of that which is near at hand; a task that must be accomplished in the immediate future. The picture is that of a man who lies down to sleep with his working waist-cloth or his tools placed near at hand, both as a reminder of his task and to be easy of access when he awakes in the early morning. It is also used of something which is lying just ahead in the journey of life. *Fakamohe*, put to rest, besides being used for example, of putting a child to sleep, is also used of placing, putting, inanimate things. This latter sense fits best with the context of the phrase.

113. Fakaanga i hiku mamao: Criticise (something) at extreme distance. 539 183 626

An admonition that if you want to offer criticisms or advice upon anything, choose something that is well within your own experience and knowledge. Keep quiet about what you don't understand.

114. Fakaanga i tefito'i niu: Criticise at the foot of the coconut tree.

One who stays on the ground but is lavish with his advice to the man who has climbed the tree. Generally of the man who stays out of a job but has plenty of talk to offer to the one who has gone into it.

115. Fili akau vaivai: Picking weak tree. 539 461

Choosing an opponent in a contest who is not very formidable; generally looking out for a soft thing, like the woodman who picks an easy tree to cut.

116. Fokotuutuu ae fefie hu: To stack up almost rotten firewood.

A pile of such wood may make a considerable display, but when used will be quickly consumed. It will prove in fact to be a big stack of hollow pretension.

117. Hala i tangata ia: Being without man, that is, there is no man to carry out what is desirable. 539 626

A certain work languishes because it has no man fit for it. The expression is used also in rebuke of someone who misbehaves himself where there is nobody able to check him. You misbehave yourself in this way, but only because you are without a man, because there is nobody here to punish you.

118. Muomua puke fue: Grasping *fue* in front. 539 483 461 [285]

The *fue* is a creeping plant with strong tough stem, used anciently as a rope for drawing heavy loads. When a team of men was dragging a load the man in front just held the line and did very little of the actual

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539 work. So of a man who seems to be on the job but is in reality putting
483 very little real work into it.
461 It is also explained as referring to two or more people going through the bush together, walking in single file as the Tongans invariably do, when
539 the front man, grasping a branch and holding it out of his own way, lets
576 it fly back in the face of the man following. This is the explanation given
481 by Baker, but although he had opportunities of getting correct elucidations denied to the present day investigator, yet the other application of the expression has much to recommend it.

539 **119. Taki taha tali hono vaha-ngatae:** Each one accept his duty;
461 each one do his duty.
417 The word *vaha-ngatae*, translated "duty", is commonly and probably
466 correctly explained as meaning literally "between the *ngatae*". The *ngatae*
622 was used as fencing posts or for marking lengths of the fences in the com-
565 pounds of high chiefs. When the people were mustered to build the fence they were assigned to do so many spans between the *ngatae*, and thus the distance between the *ngatae* came to be used in the sense of one's share of a task, duty.

539 **120. Ojiki a velenga:** Finished desire.
461 The division of this phrase into its component words, and the literal translation, are conjectural, but the sense in which the expression is employed is that of doing to the utmost of one's power.

121. Ta fakalanga ta: Stroke arousing stroke.

When workmen are weary and are resting they will be stirred to recommence their labor if one of their number gets up and starts working
[578] again. Used also of a remark which arouses antagonism, and begets strife and argument.

122. Tuai kae ngai: Slow but moving on gradually.

Has its obvious meaning of that which cannot make any great pace, but nevertheless keeps advancing.

Another form, apparently modern, is *Tuai kae ngai*, which means slow but creaking, that is, creaking on its way: the idea being that of a cart moving sluggishly and creakily. The application is the same as above.

123. Tuu kau oi: Stand I shall grunt, groan.

Used by a weak or aged man to himself as he forces himself to get about some work. Come on old chap, get to it even if it does make you groan.

124. Valevale mallohi: Unskilled (but) strong, or a strong unskilled person; an unskilled person who works with a will.

A man who has no special skill but who works with all his might ("does strongly" as the Tongan idiom has it), is more satisfactory than a

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skilled man who is idle and slack ("weak at working" in Tongan idiom). A rather less complimentary shade of meaning may be conveyed by this phrase, namely, it is the way of the unskilled (or foolish, the same word is used in both senses) to go ahead with all their might at a job although they may be all wrong. 539 461

125. Veuveuki ke lelei: Upsetting for good.

Veuveuki means to introduce confusion, to wrest things from their right order, to change instructions that have been given about a piece of work. This phrase indicates one who refuses to obey orders, makes a change in the instructions given, or otherwise disarrays a job, but does it in the knowledge that the prescribed method of procedure is not a good one. Such a man introduces confusion into the task, but it is a confusion that turns out well.

MANUFACTURES

CLOTH

[Cloth is made by ingeniously pasting together lengths of the beaten-out bark of the paper mulberry *(hiapo, Broussonetia papyrifera)*, on which a design is stained and picked out with black coloring matter.] 287 137 386

126. Hafuhafu koka: Dripping *koka*. 539

The *koka (Bischoffia* or *trifoliata javanica)* furnished a red dye for staining the native cloth. This dye is obtained by mixing the grated wood of the tree with water and squeezing through a mat. The imagery of the expression is taken from the drops of liquid falling down from the strainer, though when the mat has just been freshly filled the liquid runs down in a full stream. This expression, however, evidently refers to mere drops, more particularly perhaps the hard won drops when the mixture has been strained almost dry. It is applied to eking out a thing, trying to make it go round. 386 [137]

127. Hange ha fakatau kupeji: Like buying a printing-frame. 539

The printing-frames for the native cloth are highly valued, and when it comes to buying one there is apt to be a good deal of haggling. So this expression is applied to a transaction marked by confusion and cross purposes. 287 432

128. Hange ha fau tau koka: Like a strainer for expressing *koka*. 539 386

A coloring matter for staining the native cloth is obtained from the *koka* tree *(Bischoffia javanica)*. To obtain this pigment small pieces of bark are scraped from the tree, mixed with water, and then strained through a mat. This mat, which is long and narrow, is wrapped round the ground bark, and assumes the shape of a huge sausage. The ends are then tied

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539 386 over the branch of a tree so that the mat forms a loop hanging down to a convenient height. A pole is put through the loop, and manned (or "womanned") by several people who turn the pole round, thus twisting the strainer up tight and expressing the pigment which runs into a receptacle placed to catch it. This mat in the course of twisting is subjected [461 626] to a great strain but is hard to break. The expression is used of a lazy person who, although he is the subject of many admonitions and rebukes, is yet very hard to shift.

539 287 426 **129. Maamaa a hiki papa:** Shifting the tapa board is light.

The *papa* is the long hollow board, or rather wooden structure, used in printing designs on the native cloth. It is fairly heavy and requires two or three people to lift it about. The idea of this expression is that one who wants to borrow one of these printing boards for cloth making in his own home finds no difficulty about securing the necessary help to lift it, but when it comes to returning it to its owners there are constant difficulties in the way.

539 286 735 **130. Nae li ki fe hoo geeji kahi?** Where did you throw your *kahi* shell?

The *kahi* shell (*Arca scapha*) is used as a scraper in the preparation of the native cloth. This phrase is a reply to one who goes to beg cloth from another. What did you do with the shells for making scrapers that you have not got a stock of cloth for yourself? The expression is not confined to those who beg cloth, but is extended generally to those who find themselves in want of a commodity which they might reasonably be expected to supply for themselves.

539 386 183 571 **131. Tai e oko atu:** The coloring matter will run on, that is, the coloring matter with which one part of the cloth is stained is that with which the adjoining part will also be colored.

This expression is used as a reproof and warning to those who jeer at the misfortunes which have come upon another. Just as the color on one section of the cloth is repeated on the next and each part in turn comes to be stained, so will he who today scoffs at the afflictions of another find himself in his turn involved in the like misfortunes. It is applied especially to the infirmities of old age. The strong man may laugh today at the weaknesses of age, but his own turn will come.

539 386 517 **132. Tuu tai:** Coloring standing, that is, a thing in which is the coloring matter used in staining the native cloth.

This phrase is not properly classed as a proverbial expression but is always written and felt as a single word, meaning beautiful, handsome, whether of physical feature or of conduct.

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OTHER MANUFACTURES

133. E homo ae hui a Lafi: The needle of Lafi will be parted with, that is, will be parted with more easily than the thing that one proposes to do will be accomplished. 539 412

Lafi is said to have been the first to use the bone needle and whale's tooth in the manufacture of certain articles. His needle, or piercing instrument, was naturally not a thing to be given away lightly and obtaining the needle has become proverbial for that which is difficult of attainment. (Compare Nos. 340, 358 and 370.)

134 Haihaija Kae heheia: Bound up yet wandering about. 539 422 735 556

The thing that is bound up is wealth, and its owner does the wandering about. Tongan wealth, consisting largely of mats and cloth, is tied up in bundles and kept in the rafters of houses. One who is not well provided with these necessaries of life will be likely to go about looking for someone of whom he may beg a supply. This expression indicates one who, though possessed of ample store himself, keeps his own goods carefully bundled up at home and goes about seeking assistance from the bounty of others as though he had nothing of his own. (Compare No. 106.)

135. Hange ha fala kuo fofola: Like a mat spread out. 539

Applied to a calm sea. also generally to anything with a smooth surface.

136. Hange ha lali foa: Like a cracked drum. 539 422 829

When the native drum is broken it is not usually thrown away but is stowed in the house where obviously it must often get in the way. The phrase is applied to useless people who merely take up room about a place.

137. Nifi eni kae nafa e: Little this but great that, that is, this is nothing to what there is going to be. 539 534

The word *nafa*, translated "great", means really the Tongan drum which consisted of a bundle of lengths of bamboo, closed at one end and open at the other, so arranged that half the openings were at one end and half at the other. A mat was wrapped round the bundle of bamboos, but leaving the ends exposed. The instrument was not stood on end, but laid lengthwise, and beaten with two sticks on the upper surface. In contradistinction to *nifi*, small and thin, the drum is used here as the symbol of that which is large and bulky.

138. Nimo i talafau: Hidden in the *talafau*. 539 285

Talafau is the space between two rows of plaiting on the bottom of one type of basket (called *kato fakaono*) of rather superior design and used only for things that will not soil it. A small article might be con-

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539 285 cealed in this space and apparently lost; it is not really lost, however, but is there all the time. Used of that which seems to be lost but is not really so.

139. Papata ka nae lalanga: Coarse textured but woven.

This is an image from mat weaving. Although the weaving may not be first class yet it will give greater satisfaction to the one whose own [183] handiwork it is than will another mat of better construction. The satisfaction of accomplishment.

LAND CREATURES

539 825 **140. Foki e kuli ki he ene lua:** The dog returns to its vomit. Probably, almost certainly, a mere adaptation of the Biblical expression. (compare No. 150).

141. Hange ha kuli fie jikoa: Like a dog that wants to defecate.

A dog who happens to be shut in a room and wants to defecate will run anxiously from door to door seeking a way out. Applied to a person who cannot keep still in a room, but keeps shuffling about and changing his seat.

142. Hange ha kuli viku: Like a wet dog.

The dog after bathing in the sea runs and jumps about with evident marks of the greatest pleasure. Used of one bustling and running about, and obviously bubbling with joy.

143. Mohemohe ae kuli pea fafangu: The dog is sleeping and is waked.

This is exactly like our English "Let sleeping dogs lie." The expression is said to have been first used with respect to a great man-eating dog named Fuhibubuta, which lived in a cave at Motuliki in Fiji. Tradition has it that this dog, after having destroyed all the inhabitants on his island except two brothers and their sister who eluded him by hiding in the bush, was killed by Maui Kijikiji. Another legend attributes the exploit to Muni. The origin of the expression has also been referred to the dog which formed part of the temple furniture of the god Pulotu Katoa (Whole of Pulotu) in eastern Tongatabu.

144. Hange ha pili efihia: Like a squeezed lizard.

The *pili* is the pretty little blue and green lizard so common in Tonga. He is slenderly made and if squeezed, as for instance, by being caught [826] between two sticks, would present a very attenuated figure. Used of a very thin person.

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145. Liu ka moko: Lizard climbing upside down. 539 825 554

The lizard comes down a tree head first, and there is occasionally a man so skillful in climbing that he is able to imitate the reptile in this. To such a man this expression would be applied, but it is used generally of one who has some special way of his own of doing some particular feat or who possesses some extraordinary skill that enables him to bring off feats that the ordinary mortal would scarcely attempt.

146. Moko looa: Choking lizard. 539 825 [264]

Applied to a person whose neck is stretched out like that of the lizard in his distressful attempts to swallow. (Compare Nos. 167 and 177.)

147. Kuma aka ki he pusi: Rat kicking at the cat. [571] [159]

Generally of the weak behaving presumptuously to the strong.

148. Pekopeko a pusi kai moa: Quiet mournfulness of a cat that eats fowls. 539 825 829 577 157

The hypocrisy of one whose sad-eyed propriety in the presence of others is belied by the mischief to which he readily turns when free from observation is likened to the conduct of the cat whose demure abstention from chicken flesh does not outlast the presence of human observers. (The cat, with its English name *pusi*, is a late introduction.)

149. Pakau a puaka tuu a: Leanness of a pig kept in a sty. 539 825 231 262

The pig kept in a sty does not become so fleshy as the pig allowed to wander freely, but when put to the test of eating the pig from the sty is found to have more fat on him than his brother who enjoyed greater liberty. So used of that which is lean to the eye but is found to have much fat.

150. Puaka ne maa toe fakapelepela: A pig that was clean again covered with mud. 539 825 231

Equivalent to the Biblical saying about the sow that had washed turning to wallowing in the mire, and possibly a translation of it.

151. Pukepuke a fufula: Grasping a big fat pig.

This is a task that demands the whole of one's strength and care. Tradition says that a big prime pig used to be kept in a sty in Taanea in Vavau, and that Maui Atalanga and his son Maui Kijikiji went to get it. As the younger Maui went to lay hands on the animal his father exhorted him to grasp it firmly lest it escape. This incident, however, does not seem to be claimed as the origin of the expression.

152. Hage ha fononga pulumokau: Like a troop of cattle.

Pulu-mo-kau, bull-and-cow, is used as a name for either bull or cow. It is of course recent. Applied particularly to great waves at sea and also generally to large things. [823]

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539 825 **153. Hange ha pulu kuo ta-halai:** Like an ox that is struck badly.

231 152 Obviously modern, since the introduction of cattle. The picture is that of a slaughterer who has missed his aim and only wounded the animal. The ox in its pain bellows aloud. Applied to one who laments or weeps without restraint, at the top of his voice.

539 825 231 183 **154. Taupuji hosi:** Touching horse.

It is possible that the latter part of the first word is the introduced name for cat, *pusi*, in which case the literal translation would probably be, Cat touching (perhaps fighting) horse. This, however, is by no means certain.* The phrase is applied directly to a child taking liberties with a horse, with the chance of earning a kick by his temerity. It is also used generally of running into unnecessary danger. The expression dates from the introduction of horses and would seem to have originated when horses were still new to the Tongan people, and objects of more or less awe. [192] The Tongans of today, even quite young boys, are fearless riders.

539 825 571 183 **155. Ji namu tae feongoongoi:** To kill a mosquito without giving warning (more literally, without mutual understanding).

If one sees a mosquito on a companion and gives it a slap the kindly office will perhaps not be appreciated if the blow takes the human recipient too much by surprise. Instead of gratitude anger may be evoked. So one must be sensible about the way in which even the best meant services are rendered.

539 825 **156. Ngali ha liha:** Like a nit.

Rather an abusive way of alluding to small things.

157. Oji e neveneve: The *neveneve* will be finished.

A phrase meaning very many. The *neveneve* is the nest and young [802] of one of the spiders found in Tonga. The nest when opened is always found filled with a very numerous progeny, and so it is said of a great multitude that one will sooner finish counting the *neveneve* than be able to reckon so large a number.

158. Oku lau pe e he mokohula oku ikai ha ua oe lalo takapau: The earwig reckons there is no place like under the mat.

The earwig lives under the mat and if disturbed runs back there for [829] shelter. To him this is the finest place in the world. Used proverbially of out-back folk who have no conception of anything finer than their own restricted surroundings.

539 825 571 **159. Tuakoi a ofato:** Mutual support of the *ofato*.

The *ofato* is a grub that makes its dwelling in rotten wood. In the Tongan group it is apparently found only, or chiefly, in Niua Foou. These grubs, however close together they may lie, never quite touch and will be

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found always to have a thin layer of the rotten wood between them. The expression therefore indicates those who should be in the closest possible contact and give the greatest support to each other, but who do not do so. Beside the ordinary Samoan term *afato*, Pratt (Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language) gives *moe'ese'ese* as a name for this grub. *Moe'ese'ese* means "sleeping in different places" and apparently refers to the same peculiarity as is noted in the Tongan proverb. [For a description of the *afato* (Samoan, *afato*) see Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, Band II, p. 430.]

BIRDS

160. Hange ha moa liaki kovi: Like a hen deserting badly.

Refers to a hen who deserts her chicks before they are able to fly to a roost and look after themselves. Applied to parents who neglect their children.

161. Hange ha momoa fiji: Like a handsome cock.

This is not quite literal, the word *fiji*, rendered handsome, being one of the descriptive terms applied by the Tongans to fowls, and indicating a dark plumaged bird that is reckoned the finest looking of all. Applied to a man of handsome bold aspect.

162. Jitua kae kio: Gone away but squeaking.

The picture is that of a man who has stolen a mother hen from her chickens. He gets off unobserved with his catch but leaves the young ones squawking until they attract attention and the theft is discovered. Used of the traces which one leaves of his wrong-doing and by which he is found out.

163. Lilolilo pea kio: Hidden and chirping.

A young chick hidden from sight will chirp and thus make itself known. Thus an action may be done secretly but there will be some slight indication by which it will be betrayed.

164. Kai lalo hakalo: Eating under the coconut scraper.

Coconut broken into small pieces by a scraper is very commonly used for feeding fowls. The thoroughly tame fowls will come and eat the nut as the pieces fall from the scraper but the wilder birds will not venture near. Used of giving up wild shy ways and becoming thoroughly domesticated.

165. Kainga a moa taane: Friendship of a breeding cock.

A couple of roosters may be friends but there will come a day when they will fight. Two high-spirited warriors may be friends but they are likely to fight at last. Friendship between those who are apt to fight with each other.

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539 235 829 **166. Kio mo kokono:** Literally chirping and straining.

A name applied to chickens. Rather an abusive epithet applied to persons meaning that they are chickens, that they cannot do much and what little they do is only accomplished with a good deal of straining.

167. Moa looa: Choking fowl.

Applied to one who is nursing some sting; or who for some other reason sits with uplifted head and preoccupied stare. His attitude is likened to that of the straining fowl. (Compare Nos. 146 and 177.)

168. Moa tangata fie moa taane: Cock who wants to be breeding cock.

"Breeding cock" is perhaps not exactly a literal translation of *moa taane* which means rather a fine, big, specially strong cock. Birds of this stamp, however, are kept for breeding purposes and to discharge the responsibilities of caring for a family. More ordinary cocks find their way to the pot or, more strictly, the banana leaf. This indicates the conceit of [157] an ordinary rooster who wants to be like his big strong brother. So of the little ordinary chap who gives himself the airs of his betters.

539 825 [137] **168. Hange ha veka kui:** Like a blind rail *(veka, Rallus pectoralis)*.

Wild, uncoordinated action such as might be expected from a blind bird.

539 825 571 626 **170. Kai pe tae hoo veka:** Eat the excrement of your rail.

Eat the fruit of one's own work. Used in reproach to one who is enjoying by himself the reward of his labor, by those who think that they should have shared it with him.

539 825 515 **171. Kaukau faka-veka:** Bathing like a rail.

The rail is not very fond of water. The expression is applied to a human being who manifests the same distaste.

539 825 561 **172. Kiki tou veka:** Young rail generation of rails.

The young bird is not in the same generation with the full grown birds. Used by anyone who wishes to emphasize that another is much older than he. I am no more in the same generation with so-and-so than the young rail is in the same generation with the full grown bird.

539 825 515 **173. Taka tahi a veka:** The rail going about at sea.

The rail may fly down to the sea or, in ancient days, may have been taken on a voyage by those whose god he was, but in spite of his proximity to the water he does not bathe. Used of one who goes down to the sea but does not take advantage of the opportunity to bathe; is contented to remain dirty.

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174. Tolo veka aki paanga: Pelting the rail with money. 539 825 436

Apparently a late phrase coined since the arrival of European money. The word *paanga*, money, is also employed to designate the large flat beans or counters used in the game of *lafo*. The reference to money seems more likely. To kill the rail with pieces of money is doubly foolish. Not only is the ammunition wasted but the rail is of little use when he has been killed.

175. Tolongia pe veka kae ofi: The rail is pelted only when he is close. 539 825

If the bird does not come near the haunts of men there will be nobody to pelt him. In the same way people will not find themselves annoyed or burdened by the commands of chiefs if they keep at a distance from them. [829] [422]

176. Aoto e manu ki Toku: The bird settles on Toku.

Toku is an islet in Vavau whither sea-birds resort in large numbers. The birds may fly far out to sea looking for food but they make for Toku to rest. Used, for instance, of a man coming home to close his days, or jocularly of a lover making for the home of his sweetheart.

177. Hange ha lupe kai kotone: Like a pigeon eating nutmeg.

The pigeon straining to swallow a nutmeg nearly chokes himself, and has to stretch up his head and neck to get the nutmeg down. Used of one who has something on his mind, or who for some other reason sits in company with his head up and an absent-minded expression. The appearance of such a one is compared to that of the straining bird. (Compare Nos. 146 and 167.) [828]

178. Hange ha mata'i moho vao: Like the eye of a wild *moho*.

Moho is the name of a bird. It is very rare now but has been seen on the island of Eua. Its eye has a beautiful red iris. The expression is used of a handsome face. [826]

179. Hange ha tavake ta mafua: Like a tropic bird striking its prey.

Graceful action is here likened to the beautiful sweep of the bird's flight as it comes down to the surface of the sea, the attractiveness of its appearance being further enhanced by its striking tail feathers. (Compare No. 36.)

180. Holo ae miji ki he ovava: The *miji* flock to the *ovava* (*Ficus prolixa*). 539 824 825 137 136 571 554 221 556

The *miji* (*Aplonis tabuensis*) likes the little berries of the *ovava* tree, and flies to the *ovava* in preference to any other tree. The *ovava*, moreover, is a large noble tree and the bird may be supposed to be attracted by its distinguished appearance. The application is that people like to flock to the home of a chief or of a wealthy man.

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539 181. **Kai aipe manu vaivai i he fangota ae lulutai:** Weak animals
825 are just eaten up when the *lulutai* goes fishing.
773 The *lulutai*, which would seem to mean literally the sea-owl, is alleged to have been a great bird and is identified, though without certainty, with the mythological *kanivatu*, the huge bird to whose breast Kae clung and was borne across the ocean from Pulotu to Samoa. With regard to this proverb it is said that when the *lulutai* went out for fish the larger sea creatures, such as the whale, were the object of his quest to be taken home to his haunts. Smaller creatures were merely tit-bits casually
[571] swallowed by the way. So do the strong prey upon the weak, destroying
[829] and consuming them as a thing hardly worth noticing.

539 182. **Lofa tala matangi:** Tern telling wind.
825 The appearance of the tern (Sterna sp.) indicates the approach of a
821 hurricane. Expressions of this sort are capable of much the same applica-
[136] tion in Tongan as in English; for example, when you see So-and-So coming you always know that something is the matter.

539 183. **Lulu taki lulu:** Owl leading owl.
825 Used generally of the mating of things that suit each other. It is
581 said to have originated with the marriage of Fiŋta Puku, son of the Tui Haangana, with Fatafehi Lapaha, the Female Tui Tonga. Both man and woman were exceedingly handsome.

539 184. **Mamahi noa ngutu o fuiva:** Mouth of fly-catcher (*Myiolestes heinci*) labors in vain; or labor in vain of the mouth of the
825 fly-catcher.
829
461 The fly-catcher has a sweet note, but his singing is mere waste of
[136] time so far as getting food is concerned. So used of anyone who goes to much pains but gets no fruit for his labor. This expression was used of a chief who was vainly assiduous in his addresses to a lady.

539 185. **Tengetenga utuaki maa miji:** *Tengetenga* carrying (food)
825 for *miji*.
829 *Tengetenga* is a local name in Niua Tobutabu (Keppel's Island) for
571 the *fuiva* (fly-catcher, *Myiolestes heinci*); *miji* is also the name of a bird
[136] (*Aplonis tabuensis*). The *tengetenga* is the smaller of these two birds, and the phrase is used for the weak helping the strong, "the poor feeding the rich." (Baker.)

539 186. **Molumalu faka-kaka:** Fine like a parrot.
825 The parrot (*kaka*) found in Eua has an abundance of handsome plumage and with his feathers on looks a large full-fleshed bird. Divested of this showy covering his body is found to be small and thin. Applied to that which is showy but is found to be of little worth.

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187. Pekepeka jio ohuafi: Swift seeing smoke. 539

The swift (*Collocallia spodiopyga*) is attracted by the smoke of fires. The expression is used of a person who is constantly making for the fires of his neighbors, that is, who prepares very little food for himself but when he notices the culinary smoke ascending from some other home invites himself there for dinner. The Tongan is very open-handed, but this chap rather overdoes the giving of opportunity to other people to prove that it is more blessed to give than to receive. (Compare No. 86.)

188. Pikipiki aho: Wings folded by day. 539

Night birds sit with wings folded during the day. The expression is used of those who don't do much by day but who prowl about at night, very often getting into mischief.

189. Tee pato: Duck excrement. 539

The missionaries were the first to bring the Muscovy duck to Tonga, and people who were specially anxious to appear well in the eyes of the missionaries would not hesitate to assist them by cleaning up the mess made by the ducks. The expression, therefore, is used of one who does all he can to secure the favor of the missionaries.

190. Vea tee peka: Vea flying-fox dung. 539

A man called Vea lived for a long time with a great chief but at last did something for which he was punished. Spoiling one's prosperity or long service by a fault.

FISH

191. Angaanga mo fai: The name of a shark whose head is like that of the *fai*, sting ray, and whose tail is like that of the shark called *anga*. 539

Applied to those of uncertain character, now one thing and then another.

192. Faka-ikeika-lahi: Like a big fish.

Applied to one of a bold resolute deportment.

193. Fakalelei a tukuku: Peace-making of a *tukuku*. 539

The *tukuku* is a small fish (one of the Glyphidodon). This is used derisively of the little chap trying to make things right between those who are bigger, or socially superior, to himself.

194. Fotu ae ulua ngalo ae tukuku: The *ulua* appears, the *tukuku* is forgotten. 539

The *ulua* and *tukuku* are two fish, the *tukuku* being small and bony, and the *ulua* large and fleshy. If fishermen are catching the *tukuku* and

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539 226 584 584 the *ulua* appears they will at once leave the pursuit of the inferior fish and confine their attention to the newcomer. This expression lends itself to numerous obvious applications but seems especially used of a girl who is being wooed by a man of low degree when a chief steps into the arena and also becomes a suitor for her affection. The small fry will at once be neglected in favor of the more lordly catch.

539 825 622 **195. Mau e tukuku o ave maa Talanuku:** Get a *tukuku* and take it to Talanuku.

This is equivalent to "Carrying coals to Newcastle." Talanuku was a great chief, though it seems to be forgotten just who he was; at any rate our inquiries have not yet succeeded in placing him. To him of course flowed the food and wealth of the country. The *tukuku* is a small bony fish.

539 825 571 **196. Hange ha ulua ha heli:** Like an *ulua* (mackerel) lashing *heli*.

The *heli* is a small fish, usually found swarming in large numbers. When the large vigorous mackerel charges in among these small fry he makes a great dispersal. Used of a man who charges in strongly scattering other people, things, difficulties, to left and right.

197. Hange ha ulua oho-kai: Like an *ulua* rushing for food.

The *ulua* (a mackerel) is a large vigorous fish, and when he is [461] pursuing other fish he presses his attack strongly. Applied to one who when he has any work on hand goes into it with all his might.

539 825 855 593 602 **198. Hange ha fanau a ha fonu:** Like a turtle's family.

The turtle lays her eggs in the sand and leaves them there to hatch. About the time when the young turtles should appear the mother is reputed to re-visit the spot where she laid her eggs and to take up her station at the edge of the water. As the young turtles make their way down to the sea the mother seizes them and eats them. Only those who do not take the straight track to the water, but go off to one side or the other, escape their unnatural mother. The expression is used of parents who are unkind to their children or of persons generally who are unkind to close relatives.

539 825 [537] **199. Hange ha ika kuo vae:** Like a fish that is divided.

This refers to a fish whose flesh is marked with clearly defined divisions. Applied to that which is well divided, as a speech skillfully broken up into appropriate headings.

539 825 592 **200. He oku ai ha ika e lele ki he hiku:** What, is there a fish that will swim (run) towards the tail?

The fish swims forwards, headwise, not backwards, tail-wise. The expression has a special application to the family, which is naturally reck-

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oned rather to the father (the head) than to the mother (the tail). Instead of the word *hiku, mahi,* which means the tail, is sometimes used. 539 825 592

201. Hola ae fai kae tuku ae foto: The sting-ray has gone but the barb is left. 539 825

When the sting-ray strikes with its tail the barb that enters the body struck is commonly broken off and left in the wound. The fish may swim away but the poisonous, wounding, painful barb is left. Those who have caused suffering may have gone away but the mischief wrought by them still persists. The evil men do lives after them. 829 571

202. Ika faao: Predatory fish; fish that prey on other fish.

It is explained as primarily relating to a fish which comes and seizes a smaller fish from the hook of a man who has caught it, thus violently capturing the fisherman's property. This is well in keeping with the literal meaning of *faao,* but the expression is used generally of one creature which preys on another. [226]

203. Jii a maanga ika maka: Small mouthful (but) rock fish. 539

The Tongan words *ika maka,* translated "rock fish," indicate fish found under the rocks, at the bottom of the sea, or far from land, and which are of superior quality to those found close inshore or near the surface. The phrase means, therefore, that which is small in quantity but of good quality. (Compare No. 85.) 825 183

204. Lakulaku tee-feke: Handling black secretion of octopus. 539

Although the black secretion found in the head of the octopus is eaten with the rest of the fish, it is handled gingerly on account of aversion to its color. The expression is applied particularly to one who is not expert in preparing kava. Instead of grasping the strainer or kava firmly and masterfully the inexpert operator handles the materials diffidently and awkwardly. 226 262 272

205. Luki tenifa i hono tahi: Challenge a shark in his own sea. 539

This species of shark, the *tenifa,* is large and fierce and will attack men. The folly of jumping into the water just where he is and challenging him to single combat is obvious. So the phrase indicates the foolish effrontery of challenging one to contest in that wherein he is superior or under circumstances which give him a marked advantage. 226 571 825

206. Mohemohe a tenifa: Dozing of *tenifa.* 539

The *tenifa,* a large fierce shark, may doze, but when he wakes he wakes to violent activity. Applied to one who is spasmodic; he is inert at one time but at another is working with fierce energy. (See Nos. 207 and 208.) 825 157

207. Mohe faka-tenifa: Sleep *tenifa* fashion; *tenifa*-like sleep.

The shark *tenifa* is a very long and sound sleeper; his slumbers sometimes lasting for a day or more. Applied to people who sleep long and soundly. [513]

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539 825 226 It is said that a man of Vavau out one day in a canoe saw a *tenifa* lying asleep below the surface of the sea. He dived and fastened a rope to the shark's tail, returned to his boat, which he overturned and sat on the upturned bottom. He then waked the shark, or else it waked of its own accord, and let it drag the boat wherever it would till at length it was exhausted. He then was able to get it ashore where the people killed it and probably ate it. This story is vouched for as true and there is no reason to doubt it.

539 825 157 **208. Hange ha tenifa:** Like a *tenifa*.

Applied to persons of fierce, destructive temperament.

539 226 **209. Mata ika fai ki he pupua:** Looking at fish in a whirl-pool.

Fish in the deep swirling waters found both in holes in the reefs and in places out at sea will be very hard to get, however longingly one may gaze at them. The expression is used of something that one desires but is unable to obtain.

539 825 571 **210. Tafitafi o:** Sweeping *o*.

The *o* is a small fish of considerable repute and evidently energetic and daring. When this fish appears the other little fishes in the vicinity make for shelter; he sweeps the sea clear. When a great man appears the smaller fry quietly disperse.

539 825 578 **211. Tau ae ika taane:** Fight of great fish, as of sharks or swordfish.

When battle is joined between these strong fierce monsters of the deep the sea is churned into foam; the contest is long and stern. So used of the struggles of redoubtable champions.

539 825 183 **212. Tau ae lei moe tofuaa:** The whale's tooth befits the whale.

A big thing becomes a big person.

213. Te leleva te pokumei: *Leleva* floating, *pokumei* floating.

539 825 829 The *leleva* and the *pokumei* are two sorts of fish, of which the *leleva* is held in high esteem but the *pokumei* is comparatively disregarded. The phrase is used of people of little importance making preparations for anything in imitation of those who cut a bigger figure. For example, it might be spoken pleasantly to children who want to go out anywhere because they see their elders about to go.

FISHING

539 226 **214. Ai ke mahae pea toki pena:** Let (it) be torn and mended afterwards.

Refers primarily to a fishing net. Go on using it as much as you like and if any damage is done to it, it can easily be repaired. Employed generally of other things besides the fishing net, but with the same meaning.

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215. Aunga mo kaunanga: Fishing with a servant woman. 539

Aunga, translated fishing, means rather the place where the fishing is done, or other rendezvous. The meaning is to have an appointment with one who is under the orders of another and is not free to see the sport, or what not, for which the meeting was arranged. It is also used of, say, fishing in company with one who wants to take the fruit of the sport to the chief, keeping none for the fishers. 226 571 [622]

216. Fangota fai ki he kato ava: Fishing into the basket with a hole in it. 539 226

This expression is analogous to such English expressions as "carrying water in a sieve." It is said to owe its origin to the ruse of the legendary hero Longopoa who sailed to Pulotu, the Tongan Paradise and Abode of the Dead. Longopoa wished to find his way back to Tonga but did not see how it could be managed. At length he saw his opportunity in a fishing expedition of some of the gods of Pulotu in which he was invited to join. Being entrusted with the basket into which the spoil was to be put, he made a hole in the end of it and as fast as the fish handed to him by the divine sportsmen were put in they fell out through the hole. In this way the fishing excursion was prolonged until the party reached Tonga, as Longopoa had forseen and designed. As they were fishing the gods would now and again ask, "How's our basket? Full yet?" And Longopoa would as often reply, "No, there's still room." At length the gods exclaimed in surprise, "Why, this is fishing into a leaky basket." 773 776

217. Fetuiaki a kupenga tutui: Mixing of fishermen who go straight through entanglements. 539 226

Tutui means to go right through obstacles, as one who bursts through jungle or brush. The phrase indicates fishing parties who have come into close proximity, but waste no time in talking to each other or even in exchanging the civilities that the rank of any of the fishers might ordinarily demand. Fishing, moreover, was an occupation that did not wait on man, the proper times for the fish being marked by moon and tide; it is a case of now or never. The expression is applied to people or parties of workmen who will not be diverted from their occupation by outside interruptions. Baker gives: "The contest of two persons or parties equally strong or courageous." 571 461

218. Hala kea ahia: Faulty but tried.

Nets and snares for both land and sea creatures were examined and tested. It might happen that the sportsmen at last weary of trying to correct a weakness or fault in their net or snare, determined to give it a trial, when, although not very optimistic of the result, they make a fine catch. Never mind what the net or snare is like give it a trial, who knows what luck we may have? 539 226

219. Hago ha pa iloa: Like a famous hook.

Fish-hooks were named and their reputations known and spread abroad. This expression is equivalent to saying famous, well known. [552]

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539 226 **220. He koe liko?** What, is it the *liko?*

The *liko* is one form of fishing net honorably distinguished by the large number of fish caught with it. This expression deprecates unduly optimistic expectations; Why, is it the *liko* that you are out with, that you expect so much?

221. Hoholo ae pa he gutu oe valu: The hook near the mouth of the *valu* (a large edible fish).

The fish is likely to swallow the hook, hence of temptation to which one is specially liable to succumb being put in his way.

222. Jia kupenga he ua: Weaving net because of the throat.

One who is not a skilled fisherman but who by force of hunger is driven to weave himself a net, but after all because of his lack of skill is unable to do anything useful with it. Generally of one who is driven by circumstances to make some attempt but is unable to carry it through.

223. Jiu a tama: Son away fishing (for the bonito or shark).

Indicates a woman who is watching day and night for the return of her son from sea.

539 226 784 782 **224. Ka ai ha mala to ki uta:** If there is a curse let it fall to the shore.

This does not seem to have any proverbial application, but is an expression used by the fisherman when bad luck dogs him. Fishing is an exceedingly ticklish operation and cannot succeed if disturbed by broken tabus and malevolent sprites. We might almost call this phrase a prayer of the fishermen. Let the curse leave them and go ashore so that they may have good luck.

539 226 461 **225. Koli tali aho:** Fishing waiting for day.

This is used of the procrastinator. During the day time a group of people may say that they will go fishing when night comes (the word *koli* refers to fishing with hand nets), but when the darkness falls there may be those too lazy to carry the plan through and who make some excuse to stay at home. These idle wrigglers out of their job are the ones stigmatized in the expression.

539 226 **226. Kupenga e tautau kae fangota:** The net is hanging but there will be fishing.

Hanging nets out to dry is a sign that the fishing has ended, but this expression indicates that operations have only been temporarily suspended. A party that has had bad luck may give over for the time but with the resolve soon to try their fortune again; they are hanging up their net but there is going to be more fishing.

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227. Mala nima: Bad luck (of the) hand. 539 226 777

Bad luck, or curse, that is not a visitation of the unseen powers but arises from the awakwardness or folly of man. The phrase is said to have had its origin in the bonito fishing of a certain Tamanika of Fotuhaa in Haapai. He went on board a boat and had the task of bailing out. The fish bit well but the man in charge of the lines continually failed to land a catch. Tamanika vented his disgust in exclamations of, "*Isa, mala nima,*" "Ugh, bad luck from the hand." At length Tamanika was given the fisherman's post and a wonderful haul resulted. It is said that the reef called Hakau Tabu was given to Tamanika in recognition of his expertness.

228. Mavae a pa keina: Separation of an eaten hook, that is, a hook that attracts the fish and often gets a bite. 539 226 586

This is applied, for example, to a handsome man and a handsome woman who have been married, but afterwards separated. Each one of them is a hook that is very likely soon to catch another fish.

229. Ngofua e fanga kae taumatu: The beach is free, get the *matu.* 539 226 622 423 136 784

A beach near which lived a great chief could not be fished on at will by the common people. The Samoan *matu (Caesio pisong)* is a fish which is found inshore, and therefore cannot be caught by the common people near where a chief is living except when the lord's beach is open to the public. Such removal of restriction is indicated by the phrase; the beach is open and even the *matu* may be caught. Used generally of being permitted to do that which was prohibited.

230. Oku kei mata ae tua niu: The rib of the coconut leaflet is still green. 539 226 824

Indicates primarily a fishing net in which the leaflets of the coconut are strung on a rope. This net is used more than once; it may be used as long as the leaves remain in good condition. Applied directly to fishing it means that there is still opportunity for the sport as the net is not yet past service. Generally it means that there is still time, or opportunity, for something.

231. Pa kuo fau: Fish hook that has been made, that is, skillfully made by a real craftsman. 539 226

Thence generally to that which has the marks of real craftsmanship about it.

232. Taki taha uku ene fonu: Each one dive for his own turtle. 539 225 571 622

This is commonly used of everybody attending to his own interests. The pursuit of the turtle is a difficult sport calling for considerable experience and skill. It is a sport moreover whose fruits must be properly

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539 225 571 622 shared with the chiefs ashore. When the man in charge of a turtle-fishing expedition sees that he has sufficient to satisfy the appetite of etiquette he may give permission to his men for each one to try to get something for himself.

539 225 554 **233. Tuku e feke kae jio kehe:** Letting the octopus alone and looking away.

The octopus is a very highly relished dish. Moreover when estimating the skill of a fisherman in catching the denizens of the rocks more account will be taken of his success with the octopus than with any other sea creature. So this phrase indicates one who is regardless of that to which he should pay earnest attention.

539 226 **234. Tulituli henga:** Beginning to go for the *henga*.

The *henga* is the tuft of hibiscus fibre used as a bait in certain sorts of fishing. The phrase means primarily that the fish are nosing about the bait and the fisherman can feel that they are close; so the meaning is that the fish are close. Thence of anything that is near at hand.

235. Vale a hakau: The reef is foolish.

Indicates that a boat has gone out to sea to fish for bonito or shark but has been unsuccessful. The vicinity of certain reefs is frequently resorted to as a fishing ground.

SHELL-FISH AND SHELL FISHING

236. Filihia moe elili: Overturned with the *elili*.

The *elili* is a shell-fish whose favorite haunt is the edge of the reef where the sea breaks heavily. The shell fisher is therefore apt to be overset by the big seas when seeking the *elili*, but this will be endured for the sake of the prize.

237. Maumau e elili moe loka: The *elili* wasted by the rough sea.

The *elili* is a shell-fish whose favorite haunt is the edge of the reef where the sea breaks. If the sea is too rough it is impossible to gather it. So there may be places where there is good store of natural wealth but the difficulties are so great that man is prevented from availing himself of this plenty.

539 252 **238. He oku kula leva ae unga?** Is the crab red at once?

A question in this form is frequently used of emphatic negative. The crab turns red when cooked and although the change of color may take some time yet it is bound to appear. So of things that are hidden: sooner or later the truth will come to light.

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239. Unga toho ngeeji: Hermit crab dragging shell. 539 825 461

The hermit crab, burdened as he is with the shell of some other creature, makes only slow progress when he moves. This expression is used of one who is slow in his work or movements.

240. Koe loli foki e vau: The sea-slug (*Holothuria atra*) anyway will be scraped. 539 252 226 136

This sea-slug is found in great numbers on the reefs; before it is eaten its outer bitter skin is scraped off. If those who go out on the reef for shell-fish and the like fail in finding anything else they are sure to be able to get some sea-slugs to scrape. Used of conversation which failing of topics comes round to some thread-bare subject or well-worn scandal. [521]

241. Pulou kema: Veiled with a clam-shell. 539 735 571 157 237

Used to one who is ashamed to make a request. It is like saying "put a clam-shell over your face so that it cannot be seen and then beg for what you want." Also used of one who is very ready at begging things from others. He is as though he had no shame, as though his face were always shielded from observation. (Compare No. 395.)

242. Tafola vetevete afi: *Tafola* scattering fire. 539 252

The *tafola* is a kind of crab which is cooked by being thrown alive into the embers and whose death agony is marked by violent struggles which scatter the fire. The expression is used of a disobedient child who apparently makes a moral dispersal of his elders' commands analogous to the displacing of the fire by the luckless crab. [857]

243. Takanga a pipi mo kahi: Companionship of the *pipi* and *kahi*. 539 825 571

The *pipi* and the *kahi* are two shell-fish which are often found together, but the *kahi* devours the *pipi*. It is like the companionship of a simpleton with a sharper who fleeces him. Baker translates the phrase: "To make a pet or comrade of one who will cause trouble or pain." (Compare No. 47.)

244. Tanu a uu: The burying of the robber crab, or the robber crab buries himself. 539 825

The robber crab (*Birgus latro*), burrows into the sand and buries himself, often for months at a time. He remains under ground so long that one might think he was dead but one day he comes again to the surface. So used of a thing that is long out of sight but at length comes again to light.

245. Tonuhia ae kaloaa ka koe vaka: The *kaloaa* is in the right but it is the boat. 539 825 183 [36]

The *kaloaa* is a shell-fish (*Arca scapha*?) which does not move about, unlike the boat which goes and comes at will. So if any disagreement

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539 225 183 arises between them the blame should fall not on the stationary *kaloaa* but on the boat which went to the place where the *kaloaa* lives.

246. Utu tahi moe alaala too: Carrying seawater and rummaging for the *too*, a kind of shell-fish.

Literally this indicates one who has been to the sea to bring water and while there has taken the opportunity to do a little shell fishing. It is applied to one who while ostensibly occupied about some task, or in doing some errand, has taken the opportunity presented by this job of doing some private business. An illustration of it is a person apparently very willing to go on an errand for another, but whose real reason for going is the opportunity that will be given to meet someone whom he is anxious to see.

SHIPS AND SAILING

539 501 **247. Faka-fotu-la:** Appearing by sail.

The appearance of the sail of a boat too far out at sea for her hull to be distinguished is not always a safe guide in estimating the size of the vessel, as little ships sometimes have big sails. This is said to have been notably the case with the old Tongan canoe called the *tongiaki*.

539 502 **248. Fakahua kae paea pe:** Tacking but just drifting.

A sea expression meaning a boat which is beating up against the wind but making little headway, being drifted out of her course by currents [461] or waves. Applied to a man who is working against obstacles but whose efforts are not meeting with much success.

539 431 **249. Fakato vaka a Kupolu:**

We have not been able to get any explanation of this phrase. The meaning given by Baker is, "To give and take again by force." (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p. 207.) The literal meaning seems to be, "Handing over a boat of (or by) Kupolu," and probably there is connected with it a story of a boat given to the people of Upolu in Samoa, or given by them to someone else, and then taken back by the original owner.

539 501 **250. Fakatou katea:** Both *katea*.

The *katea* is the larger of the two canoes in the Tongan double boat. If both canoes are large and capacious so that scarcely any distinction can [593] be made between them they might be described as both *katea*. The expression is applied in various ways, as of a well mated couple, or generally of two things which are both good and useful of their kind.

539 502 **251. Foa kau tuu:** Smash, I'll stand, that is, stand safely on the shore.

Used of a boat in danger near the land the crew of which determine to let her drive on shore regardless of rocks or breakers. The boat will

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certainly be smashed but her human occupants have a chance of life. Human life is more valuable than any boat. 539 502 [181]

252. Hange ha fana fotu: Like a mast that shows up. 539 501

Refers to a tall mast which stands out clearly among other masts and which appears for a long distance at sea. Used of that which is obvious. "Plain as mud in a wine glass," "Plain as the nose on your face." (Compare No. 331.)

253. Hange ha lingi lolo ki ha tahi peaua: Like pouring oil on a rough sea. 539 823

The Tongans have long been familiar with the effect of oil on rough water. Sometimes if no oil were at hand but coconuts were available they would chew coconut flesh and spit it out on to the rough sea. The metaphorical application is identical with the English, "Pouring oil on the troubled waters."

254. Hao he afa kae ngoto he tofu: Safe from the hurricane but sunk in the calm. 539 829

This picture of a boat surviving great peril but perishing in calm through the folly or carelessness of her crew is applicable in the same way as the like idea is in English.

255. Kanakana fai ki tahi: Eating carried out at sea. 539 264 505 571

At sea some people are sick and cannot eat. A greedy man might put off eating till at sea knowing that some of his party who would have enjoyed food ashore will have no inclination for it at sea, and that thus there will be the more left for himself.

256. Ka ne faifai kau faka-hamahama: If it had been that I had acted *hama* fashion. 539 501 461

The *hama* was the leeward boat in the double canoe, also the outrigger in the single canoe. In the double canoe the *hama* is smaller than the windward boat and is less used for passengers and cargo. Employed here to indicate a failure to act to the full extent of one's capacity. Used by one who has done his utmost and has accomplished a difficult task. If I had not done my best (I could not have done what I have done).

257. Kataki e mama moe hopohopokia: Eating a leak with seas coming on board. 539 505 264

Kataki is to eat one thing as relish to another. In this expression the seas coming over the side are the relish to the leak. To be involved in the double danger of a leak and rough sea. Generally of a double misfortune or peril.

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539 505 **258. Kehe a Tonga nae folaua kae kitenoa ai a Eua:** It was Tonga to which the voyage was being made and the appearance of Eua was of no account.

When boats are making for Tongatabu the high island of Eua shows up before the mainland is seen, but although Eua appears yet it is Tongatabu to which the boat is sailing and where she finally anchors. When one is in pursuit of some object the turning up of other things is a mere incident. This seems to be confined in its application to the case of a woman who falsely supposes that visits are being paid by a man to her when in reality they are paid to another lady living in the same place. The close association into which the lover is brought with the second girl is a mere incident of his courtship of the first.

539 584

539 502 **259. Ki ama tae alomua:** "To leeward" without being the man in the bow.

When two or more men are paddling the native canoe it is the duty of the foremost to give sailing directions, typified by "*ki ama*," "towards the outrigger or leeward canoe." Anyone who was not the bow man, and yet presumed to give instructions to the crew, would fall under the rebuke of this expression.

539 505 183 **260. Kite faka-fonua mounga:** In sight like mountainous country.

A mountain appears to the ship far out at sea but it is a long time before it is reached. A thing that appears but it is in reality far off and takes long to reach.

261. Koe mata mama: The chief leak.

In a boat which has filled and sunk there may be little leaks which in themselves would not have caused the disaster, but there is one big leak which is the real cause of the trouble. Generally of that which has been the fundamental reason of catastrophe.

539 502 571 **262. Laukau he tauala oe jiana kehe:** To be proud of another chap's coming up to the wind.

A metaphor from navigation, *tauala* being to luff up into the wind. Employed of the useless pride of one man in the achievements of another with which he himself has had nothing to do.

539 501 **263. Limua ae vaka:** The boat is covered with seaweed; that is, the boat has been neglected and left in the sea without use or without being hauled up for cleaning.

Applied to that which is suffering from long neglect and disuse, in the same way as we say in English that a thing is rusty.

539 505 **264. Lujia ki taulanga:** Weather-beaten to harbor.

The vessel although storm-tossed and battered has at length made port safely.

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265. Mamao a folau: Distant on a voyage. 539 484

This seems a fair representation of the literal meaning though it may be translated slightly differently. This rendering, however, well indicates the real meaning and use of the expression, which is that the one spoken of is at a distance but will return. He is away on a trip, not to stay, and in due course the time will come for his return.

266. Mamao a hikuhiku jila: The distance of the tip of the yard, or the tip of the yard is distant. 539 501

This refers to that which is now at a distance but which later will be brought near. Just as in the boat the tip of the yard is far out of reach and hanging over the sea when the sail is set, but later on the sail will be taken in and the formerly inaccessible end of the yard will be brought within easy reach.

267. Mata liu ae fine heke: The strange woman (that is, one without part or lot in the matter) looking at a boat's hold. 539 562 226

This is said to be referable mainly to important fishing, such as shark fishing, and to indicate women who go to the shore to see a boat with which they have no concern discharge her catch. The women who are connected with the boat would say in effect by this phrase, "Let these women look; that is as much as they will get out of it. Ours it is to share in the distribution of the spoil." It is referred to the fascination and interest which women unaccustomed to the sight of a boat unloading her cargo would find in the spectacle. They would wish to return again and again and see more of it. To this line of thought seems to belong its application to a woman enamored of a handsome man (*manaia*). She would never tire of going to look at him. The first idea seems to be present also. Let her look at the man; he will be another's prize. Baker, however, gives what is apparently an opposite meaning. "To be enamored of strange women." Its most common application, at any rate at the present day, would seem to be to women looking at the treasures being unloaded from a boat in which they have no concern.

It is stated also that this expression has reference to the ceremony following the launching of a new boat, the *hopoki*, literally the getting on board. Before this ceremony the boat could not be entered by women. The ceremony might be performed by men but was usually done by women; the most proper person being the chiefliest woman amongst the people to whom the boat belonged. In this connection also the idea would be of the distinction between the "other" women who had no part nor lot in the boat, and those who were intimately connected with her. (Compare No. 400.) 539 501 562 788

268. Mata vaka piki vaka: Seeing boat, sticking to boat. 539 422 571

People are welcome to go and see other people's boats, but they must not go on board without permission or otherwise take the sort of liberties with her which one may take with his own property. A caution against meddlesomeness.

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539 181 **269. Matangi lelei to ki la mahaehae:** Good wind falling in torn sail.

This indicates good opportunities put into the hands of those incapable of turning them to advantage.

539 203 **270. Ongo fakaevaha:** News like that from the open sea; more literally from "between."

The stretch of sea separating one island from another is commonly spoken as "the between." One might employ the same mode of speech for being out at sea.

News from the open sea is the unreliable reports that travellers bring; yarns concocted while out at sea at a distance from good sources of information. It may be applied generally to stories that are not sufficiently founded on fact.

539 461 **271. Ohooho a liu lahi:** A large hold (of a boat) unfilled.

A large vessel of great carrying capacity may be unfilled and yet contain a very large cargo, while a small boat will be filled to overflowing by a much smaller load. Small people, and small receptacles, may appear to be carrying very large loads but in reality their burdens are much less than those easily borne by persons and vessels of greater capacity.

539 502 **272. Pata i la tuu or Pata i la kuo tuu:** Rejoicing in sail that is standing.

Used of a high degree of satisfaction, such as that which the sailor feels when the breeze is fair, the sail well filled, and the boat making good way.

273. Peau tupu-koso: Wave rising (at the) *koso*.

[501] The *koso* is an ornamental carving at the bow and at the stern of the canoe. The expression refers to a wave that rises right under the bow or stern of the boat and gives the steersman very little time or opportunity to ride it properly. Hence of danger or calamity which comes suddenly upon one giving him but little time either to avoid it or take measures to meet it.

274. Pelu la kei mamao: Reef sail still at a distance, that is, while the storm is still at a distance.

[181] To have everything snug and prepared in ample time to meet a threatened danger.

539 501 **275. Pili e tauhala:** Near the rope, or the rope is near.

The *tauhala* is a rope that was trailed astern in rough weather to afford succor to anyone who happened to be washed overboard. This expression is said to indicate primarily one who has been washed overboard and has nearly missed the saving rope; has nearly let it pass him before he

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has succeeded in seizing it. Generally of one who has had a narrow escape. To be exposed to danger (Baker). 539 501

276. Po fakafitaa uli: Night, persisting through difficulties (with) steering. 539 502 461 183

Literally applied to a boat making her way through storm and darkness; the steering of the vessel is rendered extremely difficult but the sailor sticks bravely to his task, and in spite of difficulty and peril, the vessel holds on her course. Applied generally to hard, arduous tasks, especially with the idea of going through with them, refusing to be daunted.

277. Punufuu hage ha fuu vaka Vavau: Obstructing like a great Vavau boat. 539 133 183

It is said that a boat coming from Vavau to Haapai was unlucky enough to run on one of the reefs there blocking the opening which was the entrance to the anchorage at that spot. The expression is applied, for example, to one who enters a room and plants himself down in front of the door.

278. Ta e lango kei mamao: Cut the slips still at a distance, that is, when the occasion for its use is still at a distance. 539 504 183

Lango, rendered here by slips, is a timber for raising anything on like the timbers on which a boat is pulled up out of the water or launched. The slips on which a boat is launched is probably the timber specifically indicated in this expression. The meaning is to have the preparations for launching all made beforehand so as not to waste time about it when the day comes to put the vessel into the water. Generally, to prepare well ahead for anything.

279. Takanga a tongiaki: A *tongiaki* in company. 539

The *tongiaki* is one of the old sailing canoes of Tonga, not so large or seaworthy as the more familiar *kalia*. A couple of these canoes might sail along in company in fair weather but if a storm sprang up neither could rely much on the other for assistance. They had neither the size nor the qualities to make them very serviceable companions in distress; in fact each would be hard enough put to it to secure her own safety. So used of fair-weather friends. 501 502 572 571

280. Takanga enau fohe: Mates (at) their oar; perhaps, their oars are mates. 539 461 501 502

The Tongan sailing canoes had two, sometimes three, steering oars. In calm weather one man apiece sufficed for these oars but in storm more would be required. This phrase indicates that the men at the oars, whether one at each or more, are well matched in skill and so the steering is done well and harmoniously. Men who are all capable workmen laboring together and carrying out their task ably and agreeably.

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539 461 561 562 **281. Tangata e taha oe vaka:** One man in the boat.

Only one able-bodied man on the job; all the rest are women and children or old men. Everything on the shoulders of this one man.

537 501 534 **282. Tata tuli vaka:** Beating (of the native drum) chasing boat.

It was common for the sailing canoes to have a drum on board with which arrivals and departures were announced. When two boats were racing and one was on the point of overtaking the other the drum on the overtaking boat was beaten in a particular way. (There were many different ways of beating the drums in accordance with the purpose for which they were sounded.) This beat of approaching victory naturally spurred the crew to their highest efforts. So of the exultant energy which is put into a task which is on the point of being carried through to a successful conclusion.

[461]

539 571 264 [501] **283. Ta tefito mei ama:** Strike root from the leeward canoe.

This expression, which means to kill a man or woman for food, does not seem to have passed into proverbial use. Roots are the stand-by in times of famine. In the leeward canoe were mostly found the passengers, largely women, who were not occupied in the working of the vessel. To strike a root from the leeward canoe, therefore, was to replenish the larder by a foray amongst the passengers.

The phrase occurs in the tale of the voyage to Tonga from Fiji of Tui Motuliki, the son of Sinailele and the bones of the two Maui. Atalanga and Kijikiji, accompanied by the chief of Bau, Nokelevu. Each day during the voyage when it was reported to Nokelevu that the oven was hot he would order his people to strike a root from the leeward canoe and a man would thereupon be slain and eaten.

539 571 183 **284. Tefua a vaka Lautala:** Gathering together of the boats of Lautala.

This proverb does not seem to be any longer in use. Baker renders it: "Clever hands gathered together at any work," in accordance with a present-day explanation that it indicates things not large but valuable and strong.

Lautala is the name of an anchorage or beach on the island of Haano in the Haapai group. If this is the Lautala referred to it would seem to have been a place noted for boat-building or seamanship. An informant who has Fijian blood in him referred the expression to the island of Lautala near Suva in Fiji. This is but a small island, and he explained the phrase as probably meaning that when the boats of Lautala are gathered together their utmost might is a thing of no account to the powerful chiefs in the neighboring localities. There does not seem much support for this interpretation, but the reference to the Fijian islet may be correct, especially if its people were famed as boat-builders, a matter about which we have no information. Tongans frequently get boats from Fiji. For the meaning "small but valuable" compare Nos. 85 and 203.

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285. Toki tau ae vaka e: 539 505

It is difficult to render this proverb literally. As nearly as possible it would be "The boat has but now reached land," but more in accord with the nuance of the Tongan phrase would be an appreciative "My word, the boat has made land at last. It is illustrated by a boat which has struck heavy weather and been forced to run for shelter to some port other than that for which she is making. At last, however, she is able to make the right harbor; the passengers and crew can go ashore for now they have really made the land and are not as before merely seeking a temporary shelter where they do not wish to be.

286. Tuai mei uta: Slow from the land.

The idea is that of delay in a place where one is comfortably placed and has occupation. One may keep a boat waiting while he is seeing to his affairs on shore, but there is more sense in spending time in a place where one has resources at his disposal than in wasting it in the condition of helplessness in which men find themselves at sea.

287. Tuku mo fai la: Letting down and making sail. 539 504 461

A busy port where boats are constantly coming and going. One boat no sooner comes to an anchorage and lowers her sail than another leaves her moorings and hoists her sail. Refers to that which is always busy and on the move. No sooner is one job finished than another is started, like a boat which accomplishes one voyage only to shortly commence another trip.

288. Tuu e la mo poupou: The sail standing with support. 539 501 183

In the Tongan sailing canoe a support was used to strengthen the mast. The sense of the phrase is to take every precaution; not only hoist your sail but see to it that it stands as firmly as possible. Applied generally with this meaning of doing everything to secure stability, success, safety.

289. Uta lea i vaka: Land speaking in boat. 539 502 829

A landsman offering advice or giving orders in a boat.

290. Vaka ki ua: (Making a) boat of neck or shoulders. 539 505 482

The boat is the means of carrying burdens but inland a boat is of no use, so that the neck or shoulders have to be used for this purpose.

291. Vakavaka mua: First boat. 539 571 521

The picture is that of a fast-sailing boat which out-distances other boats and reaches harbor first. Applied to one who is ever ready to speak. Before anyone else can say anything he thrusts in his advice or opinion.

CLIMATE AND SEASONS

292. Aho faka-ua: Double day. 539 821

Used of those times of the month when the moon is so bright that, even after the sun has set, there is sufficient light to perform outside tasks, go journeys, and the like.

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539 821 461 183 **293. Mokomoko aho:** Coolness (of) day.

This indicates the coolness which precedes the dawn, and is thus a harbinger of day. It is used to encourage those who are getting towards the end of a task. Persevere, be of good heart, we are close to daylight, we have nearly finished.

539 821 **294. To lelei ae ataata:** The dusk falling well, "The sun setting in a clear sky" (Baker).

A sign of fair weather; has the same applications as similar expressions in English.

539 821 571 829 **295. Afa ka e tofu:** Hurricane but there will be calm.

An exhortation to people in hardship not to make their present difficulties an excuse for neglecting the kindnesses which men owe to each other. The present adversity may make it difficult to do a kindness to a neighbor, but prosperity will return and then the neglected opportunities of showing good-will will be remembered with shame.

539 821 **296. Fakatofutofu kae hiko:** Calm but about to blow; apparently well but again falling upon evil.

The expression originates with the hurricane. As the wind veers there is a calm; after this interval the wind blows again from another quarter with as great violence as before. The word *hiko* translated above as "blow" has perhaps the signification of moving on to another quarter. [524] In the game of *lafo* this word is used of a disc which passes another and lies nearer to the scoring-line.

297. Hange ho aho tafitonga: Like a clear bright day (literally day swept by the south wind).

[157] Applied to persons of open, serene countenance.

298. Matafi e tonga ho finangalo: May the south wind sweep your mind; may your mind be serene and unruffled.

[157] The translation given here is probably literally correct but *tafitonga*, which seems literally to mean "swept by the south wind," is felt and written as a single word meaning "clear, serene," and is constantly used of fine weather, and figuratively of the mind.

299. Hange ha aho tuutuu taufa: Like a day of intermittent gale.

[157] A day that is neither consistently fine nor uninterruptedly stormy. Applied to persons and things which show a mingling of various characteristics.

300. Hiko hiko puku: Blow, blow short.

[183] Refers primarily to the wind blowing in short squalls following quickly one another. Used of things good or bad following quickly one after

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another but none of them enduring long. The same expression is also used, for example, for the rattling of the lid on a pot of boiling water. 539 821 183

301. Kai tae tala: Eating without telling.

Apparently this indicates primarily one who quietly takes food and eats it without inviting anyone to share it with him, or perhaps one who takes and eats food that belongs to another without saying anything to the owner. The expression is used now only of a wind that comes up suddenly without warning, although in this sense, of course, it is capable of a wide range of metaphorical employment. 539 264 422 [821]

302. Lau matangi fai i fale: Reckoning wind done in house.

Statements made by those who have not taken the measures necessary to ensure that their opinion is worth hearing. 539 821 [571]

303. Tokelau i fale: North in house.

Used of one who sitting inside a house talks about the wind, that it is north or south, without going outside to see how it actually is. So used of the man who freely gives his opinion about matters whose true state he has not the means to ascertain. [829]

304. Toka mono agai: Prepared with (for ?) its opposite.

A wind which blows in one direction but is certain to go around to another quarter, as do the strong gales that sometimes blow in Tonga during the summer months. Generally of things and circumstances that are bound to shift and be of a character opposite to that which they were at first. [132] [183]

305. Hala pe Vai ka ko Vai: The rain has missed but there will be rain. 539 821 805

Vai-mua (Earlier rain, or water) and *Vai-mui* (Later rain, or water) are the names of two moons in the Tongan calendar, corresponding roughly to February and March. If the rain expected in the former of these two wet months fails to appear there is still the later wet month to look forward to. It is a counsel of courage, bidding us not lose heart immediately on the failure of one expected opportunity. [132]

306. Tanaki kai fai ki Vai: Collecting food for *Vai*, the rainy months, about February or January and March, when the native food supply is low. 539 261 183 [132]

This is an expression of careless indifference, almost of reproof, to deter one who desires to save food for another time. Why save? Let the lean months look after themselves.

307. Ka ai ha ofa pea tali ki Uluenga: If there is any kindness (to do) then wait till Uluenga. 539 571 183

Uluenga is the name of one of the Tongan divisions of the year, about October or November, when the food supply is scanty. The idea, therefore, [805]

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539 571 183 is that anyone who wishes to do kind acts had better choose a time when they will be really useful.

539 821 534 412 287 **308. Ngingi uha:** Sounding (of) rain.

This indicates the sound of the mallets used for beating out the native cloth, or the sound of the native drum (*lali*) when there is rain about. The note of the drum or *tapa* mallets is then a sign of rain. Proverbially applied to the signs that something is about to happen. (See No. 564.)

539 821 [183] **309. Uha kei lelei:** Rain still good.

Rain falling at a suitable interval after the last previous downfall, as distinguished especially from rain which falls after so long a period of dry weather that many plants have died and are unable to profit by the downpour when it does come. Generally of actions and circumstances of all sorts that occur at appropriate times and are therefore able to achieve the maximum of good.

SEA AND COAST

539 481 829 **310. Anu tahi:** Swimming (floating, wading) in the sea.

Used of one in difficulties, exactly as we say, "one has got into deep water."

539 481 183 **311. Auhia kae kisu atu pe:** Obstructed by the current but spitting on.

The picture is that of a swimmer striving against the current with the water breaking in his face and getting in his mouth; but who keeps squirting or spitting the water from his mouth and battles bravely on. Applied to one who goes indomitably on his way in spite of the difficulties which beset him.

539 829 184 **312. Fai tahi:** Sea doings, that is, unusual behavior, sometimes deceitful conduct.

The gods of the sea had characteristics different from those of the land; the conduct of people at sea is not the same as their behavior ashore. It is hard to say what special differences, if any, exist between longshore and sea-going habits and particularly why the idea of craftiness should be associated with this expression. Broadly it appears to mean things that are not done ashore.

539 571 825 **313. Fakaita fai ki tahi:** Anger bestowed on sea; "to be revenged on another by punishing oneself." (Baker.)

The story is that a party of brothers prepared food, yam with rats. When the food was divided one of the brothers, apparently the youngest, was dissatisfied with his share and in his chagrin jumped over a cliff into the

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sea. These brothers were chiefs, each with his own followers, and the angry man's followers went with their master over the cliff. Among them was a Samoan. The party were turned into porpoises, and the tattooing on the Samoan's body is the origin of the marking on the belly of the porpoise. 539 571 825

314. Feofaaki a kakau: Mutual affection of swimmers. 539

Kindly feelings for each other felt by those who have very little opportunity of translating their sentiments into actions, just as men swimming away from a wrecked boat can do very little for each other however much they may desire to. 571 481

315. Ha ha mo lofia: Appearing, appearing and awash. 539

Used of that which shows up and disappears at intervals, like an object floating in the sea, which is visible for an instant and then is hidden from sight by the waves. 823

316. Hange ha pa utu: Like a steep cliff.

Used of that which stands firm and unshaken no matter what storms of trial beat against it. The picture is that of a great cliff unmoved by the dashing waves.

317. Hange ha tahi hua: Like an incoming tide.

A resistless thing.

318. Matemate a liku: The *liku* still.

The *liku* is the weather side of the island, usually protected by a broad shelf of rock, and always presenting a rock-bound inhospitable coast. Even when the tide is out and the sea smooth, leaving the shelf of reef dry and bare, one cannot altogether trust appearances for a sudden wave may come up and perhaps overwhelm those who are exposed in dangerous places on the rocks. Appearances that cannot be trusted. [183]

319. Laku maka fai ki tahi (or moana): Casting stones into the sea (or ocean).

A type of a useless labor; the stones are lost but the sea is not dammed up.

320. Likuliku mo ao: Windward and leeward.

The sea breaks heavily on the weather side but there is calm on the leeward side. This mixture of rough and calm is used proverbially of one whose character displays like inconsistencies; at one time he seems an honest man, and at another a liar; at one time kindly, and at another harsh. [157]

321. Limu tuu i au: Seaweed standing in current. 539

That which is unstable, like seaweed constantly moved by the water. 824

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539 823 825 **322. Mamaha ae tahi he kuo tuunga kiu:** The tide is low for the plover (*Charadrius fulvus*) can stand.

There are a number of phrases for different stages of the outgoing and incoming tide. *Tuunga kiu*, standing for the plover, indicates the time when the sea has receded so far as to leave isolated rocks projecting here and there on the reef, thus affording standing places for the plover. Proverbially used of that which is nearly finished, of which signs of approaching completion are appearing here and there.

539 823 [103] **323. Nofo i lelenga:** Living at cliff; being at the top of the cliff.

Lelenga is the name given to a very high bare cliff in Eua, with a sheer drop into the sea. It is possibly, in this connection at all events, a proper name, but Baker gives it as a common noun meaning jeopardy. The expression *nofo i lelenga* has been explained as referring directly to the cliff in Eua, a fall from which would be certain death, and where, owing to the nature of the coast, the chances of recovering the body would be slight. [829] Used generally of being in danger, uncertainty of life. Nowadays frequently heard in Christian worship in reference to the uncertainties of life.

539 823 386 **324. Paepae kae auhia:** Mounded up but washed away.

Perhaps in the first instance refers to the leaves put in the sea to bleach in preparation for mat making. These leaves are anchored by stones put on them. If not this the obvious meaning is still that of something which is piled up but yet washed away by the currents. It is applied to that which one tries to do, to put through, to make fast, but cannot.

539 823 **325. Ta ki ao ta ki tua:** Having regard to front, having regard to back.

Ta ki liku ta ki ao: Having regard to weather side (of an island), having regard to lee side.

Ta ki liku ta ki fanga: Having regard to weather (rocky) side, having regard to beach.

Ta ki tahi ta ki uta: Having regard to sea, having regard to land.

[183] These expressions have the same meaning. In reference to persons they denote all-round excellence; used of place they mean everywhere.

NATURAL FEATURES OF LAND

326. Fuli ki vanu: Overturned into chasm.

Such a thing will not appear again; it is finished and done with. So of a thing that is finished, whose usefulness is quite over.

327. Ka kele a matavai e kele mo muivai: If the source is muddy the lower waters will also be muddy.

[183] [312] This has its obvious application to things spoiled throughout by corruption at the fountain-head. Although pure Tongan in form and vo-

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cabulary this phrase seems out of place in Tonga, a country almost entirely without running water. 539 823 312

328. Tafe jino i vai: Perhaps flowing as a body of water.

Pratt (Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan language), translates *tafetinoïvai:* "to flow in the river bed." It is used in Tongan of that which is manifestly good and may indicate a distinct, clear-flowing, volume of water in contradistinction to scattered streamlets. Except for a few tiny rivulets in Eua the Tongan group is without surface flowing water, and so such an expression would seem to have originated in Eua, or, perhaps more probably, to have been brought from Samoa. [177]

329. Ta jino-i-vai: Cutting out body of water.

Water making for itself a channel, and becoming a manifest body of water. Like the preceding, this expression is applied to that which is clean, unsullied, as well as to that which is manifest.

330. Tuutuu mounga: Standing (on) mountain. 539 823 554

Applied to one who is out of reach by reason of rank or the protection of those of high rank.

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS

TONGATABU AND EUA

[Tongatabu the chief island of the group, and the seat of Government. It is one of the most southerly of the Tongan Islands. On its southeast side is the high and beautiful island of Eua, separated from Tongatabu by a narrow but very deep strait.] 131 133

331. Hange ko Manaki: Like Manaki. 539 823

Manaki is a high towering rock in the island of Eua, and is a very prominent feature in the landscape. Used of that which is obvious. (Compare No. 252.)

332. Hange koe Matafota: Like Matafota.

Matafota is a place in the sea between Eua and Tongatabu, which has passed into a proverb for its roughness. (See No. 342.)

333. Koena pe he Tuatoi: Tuatoi is just over there.

Tuatoi is a place in Eua at a considerable distance from Ohonua, the chief centre of population. Used in an ironic or deceptive way to one who asks how far a place is away. The one inquired of may just point in an offhand way and say, "Oh, Tuatoi is just over there," but when the one who asked comes to walk the distance he will find that he has a long way to go.

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539 103 **334. Nukualofa fakahekeheke:** Flattering Nukualofa.

The name Nukualofa, applied today to the large village which is the capital of the modern Kingdom of Tonga, had formerly a much more restricted application. Speaking generally, however, it is said that this part has been called successively by the names Maufanga, Navua, Nukualefa, and Nukualofa. Of the last two, Nuku-alefa means Hungry-place, and Nuku-alofa, Kindly-place. Flattering Nukualofa is used derisively with the imputation that the expression of "Kindly-place" is mere flattery used to procure food for Hungry-place.

539 484 505 **335. Taka Tongatapu tae i Eua:** Going about in Tongatabu without being in Eua.

The island of Eua although close to Tongatabu is inconveniently situated for coming and going with the prevailing winds; the trip one way is frequently easy but sometimes several days elapse before a sailing boat can make the return passage. Consequently comparatively few people visit Eua. One may live for years in Tongatabu or a stranger may go through Tongatabu from end to end and yet not include Eua in his itinerary. (See Nos. 350 and 352.)

539 787 **336. Toka i Maananga:** Lying (beforehand) in Maananga.

Maananga is the name of the home of the chief Loau who plays so great a part in Tongan legend. He was a seer who resting quietly at home was able to see all that was going on elsewhere, or at least a great deal of it. People might purpose to carry out a project and set to work on it, but it was all known to the chief in Maananga, the whole thing lay exposed [779] to view in Maananga. This expression, written as one word, is commonly used of omniscience in Christian worship.

539 823 **337. Tonga mounga ki he loto:** Tonga's mountain is in its heart.

This is said to be the reply of the Tongatabu people to the people of Haapai and Vavau, when taunted with having no mountain in their island. [873] The phrase has been very happily adopted by the late Rev. Dr. Moulton as the motto of the Tubou College, of which he was the founder. Dr. Moulton has of course applied its brave language to the whole of the Tongan group, inclusive of Haapai and Vavau. If this account of the origin of the 539 133 expression be correct it bears interesting testimony to the isolation of Eua from Tongatabu. Eua is not as high as Tofua or Kao, the two mountain- 823 ous islands of Haapai, but it is certainly very high land in Tonga and is 186 much closer to Tongatabu than Tofua and Kao are to the main part of the 184 Haapai group, which is in general very low. Moreover, the population of Eua has probably always been greater than that of Tofua and Kao. The people of Eua, although only a few hours' sail under favorable conditions from Tongatabu seem in general to have lived a life of their own, though by no means one always of peaceful monotony.

539 484 829 261 **338. Uakai pea alu ki Fuaamotu:** Hungry, then go to Fuaamotu.

Fuaamotu is a village in the eastern part of Tongatabu, a place that to a great number of the inhabitants of Tongatabu seems and actually is

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at a considerable distance from their own homes. It is moreover a high chiefly village; and therefore a likely place to obtain food. There is a double reference in this phrase; first, that one is so hungry that he is willing to go a long way to obtain food; second, that in going to Fuaamotu he is going to a good place to get it. 539 484 829 261

HAAPAI

[Haapai is the central portion of the Tongan group, lying almost midway between Tongatabu to the south and Vavau to the north. It is a widely scattered archipelago, consisting almost entirely of low coral islands.] 131 133

339. Afa kai fai ki Haa-Ngana: A great talk about food after the Haa-Ngana way. 539 829 184

Haa-Ngana, the tribe of Ngana, is found in three small islands in the Haapai group. What might be reckoned a great thing in these small islands is not necessarily of such dimensions as to appear worthy of special comment to the inhabitant of a larger place. Much ado about nothing.

340. E seea ae namu Nomuka: Nomuka mosquitoes will be driven away. 539 825

The island of Nomuka, one of the southernmost of the Haapai group, is deservedly famous for its mosquitoes. The expression is used for that which is very difficult. It is easier to keep the mosquitoes off oneself in Nomuka than to do so-and-so. (Compare Nos. 370, 358 and 133.)

341. Foa ulu efu: Foa dusty head. 539 578 184

This is an abusive epithet applied to the people of Foa in Haapai. It makes a Foa man angry and does not seem applicable to any peculiarity discoverable today in the people or their island, which is large and very fertile. A story is told which refers the origin of the expression to a combat between two chiefs of Foa. One hit the other on the head with his club and made a cloud of dust fly out. It is also said the yams in Foa have large heads with plenty of room for the dirt to lodge when they are dug up; but this strikes one as being rather the finding of fresh cases to which to apply the abuse than the explanation of its origin.

342. Hange ko Fakatoutoa: Like Fakatoutoa. 539 823

Fakatoutoa is a place in the sea near Nomuka, in the Haapai Group, where rough water is frequently encountered. Used proverbially of rough seas. (See No. 332.)

343. Hilinga mo Tolu koe motu tokanoa: It becomes Tolu, an island that lies right out of the way.

Tolu is a small group of islets lying at a considerable distance from any other portion of the Tonga Islands and is, moreover, rather inaccessible and out of the usual track of boats. The expression as it stands, is ellip- 183

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539 823 183 tical, but would be readily intelligible in a context. It means that a backwoods, out of the way place like Tolu had better not interfere with the affairs of other places. It is a way of telling anyone to mind his own business.

539 829 554 **344. Nae tai ae vaka Mounga-one koe ikai hano eiki:** The Mounga-one boat was smitten because it had no chief.

The story is that a party of men sailed from Mounga-one in Haapai to some part of Fiji. On landing they cooked themselves some chestnuts (*Inocarpis edulis*), which were passed around and eaten in a most informal manner. While this was going forward a party of Fijians appeared, and feeling sure from the haphazard, go-as-you-please way in which the Tongans were taking their food that no chief was present they fell on them and slew them. This incident is jocularly referred to by one of a working party who is lazy, or who perhaps really deserves a rest, and wants to sit down. He sits down with the remark that the Mounga-one boat was cut out because there was no chief there, his meaning being that he will sit down and play the chief for the party he is with.

539 184 **345. Oku ikai ha vaka e mate i tahi ka e mole ai a Haano:** There is not a boat lost at sea but a Haano man perishes there.

The people of the island of Haano in Haapai have the reputation of being such incorrigible wanderers that a boat cannot be wrecked without there being someone from this island among the drowned. Wherever you find a boat you are sure to find at least one Haano man on board.

539 776 183 **346. Kama e tevolo i Kao, Kae tuku e tevolo aau:** Reaching out to, attending to, the devil in Kao, but not noticing your own devil.

In its present form this appears to be modern, and it is impossible to say whether there was an older form in which the word *tevolo* is replaced by something more certainly ancient and genuinely Tongan. The second line is sometimes rendered, *Kae tuku ae tevolo ho ao*, But not noticing the devil in your presence. The expression apparently originated in Haapai, where the island peak of Kao is situated. It is used here as the type of that which is distant: concerned over evils at a distance but regardless of the evils which are close at hand. (Compare Nos. 422 and 423.)

539 823 **347. Tekefili hange ko Kao:** Lying manifest like Kao.

The high conical island of Kao in Haapai is the most striking feature in the seascape for very many miles around. "As plain as Kao" means much the same as "As plain as a pike-staff," but is a much more striking and forcible expression.

348. Koe mamao he ko Aka: Distant, for 'tis Aka.

Aka is the name of a reef near the islands of Tofua and Kao, the two volcanic mountains of the Haapai group. To reach this reef involved a long sail from the islands that were the main centers of population, but

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canoes used to go there for fishing. The expression is used generally of a long voyage to reach a reef. 539 823

349. Manako maka fai ki Tofua: Wishing for rock in Tofua. 539 823 183

Volcanic stones and pebbles from Tofua are highly valued for several purposes, but Tofua is far from most of the inhabited islands, the anchorage is bad, and contrary winds are frequently met with, especially in returning. Wishing for stones from Tofua, therefore, is to desire something that is worth having but difficult to obtain.

350. Taka Haapai tae i Tofua: Going about Haapai without being in Tofua. 539 823 484

The meaning of this is similar to that of No. 335, the volcanic mountain of Tofua being as inconveniently situated with respect to the main portion of the Haapai group as Eua is with respect to Tongatabu. (See also No. 352.)

VAVAU AND NIUA FOOU

[Vavau is the most northerly of the Tonga Islands with the exception of the outlying islands of Niua Tobutabu and Niua Foou. Vavau is high and picturesque and possesses an exceedingly fine harbor. Niua Foou is about midway between Vavau and Samoa.] 131 133

351. Kai pe e Ngaunoho ae fua o enau gaue kovi: Ngaunoho is merely eating the fruit of its ill deed. 539 823

As a proverb this is one of the many expressions found scattered throughout the world which warn erring mortals that they must reap as they sow. Ngaunoho is a village in Vavau, and is said to have been once a flourishing place but to have fallen from its old prosperity through having offended its chief. Its present decrepitude is the fruit that it has to bite on. 622 626 829

352. Taka Haafuluhao tae i Poujini: Going about in Haafuluhao without being in Poujini. 539 823

Haafuluhao is a common name for Vavau, the northern part of the Tonga Islands. Poujini is a small islet near Haalaufuli in Vavau which is not often visited. This is similar to Nos. 335 and 350.

353. Tala kei i Kapa: Tell still in Kapa.

Kapa is an island in Vavau, lying close to the island of Mala. The route from Kapa to the mainland lies through Mala, where once dwelt a formidable cannibal man or demi-god. Warnings should be given or preparations made in Kapa before passing on to Mala, where one was in deadly peril. Used generally of taking time by the forelock, making all preparations to meet danger before one is actually involved in it. 539 776 266 183

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539 184 576 574 276 **354. Faka-Niuniua-foou:** Niua Foou fashion.

Tongans generally do not ask a stranger his name directly but ask a third person who knows him, whereas the people of Niua Foou make no scruple of a point blank inquiry. Hence to ask anybody his name directly is to act in the Niua Foou way. There is a special application to kava drinking. The *matabule* who is directing the brewing and distribution of the drink may not know the names of all present. A very common proceeding in such as case is to quietly inquire of one sitting near who so-and-so is; but he may say "We'll do Niua Foou way," and then without further invitation the strangers will each tell their names, or someone who knows them will name them out.

OTHER LOCALITIES

539 183 **355. Faji pe jila tuku ki Manono:** Boom broken—leave it to Manono, or boom broken, impute it to Manono.

Either of these expressions is a literal translation of the words. The origin of the phrase is obscure, but it is applied in two ways in accordance with the two translations given: 1. When a thing is broken, leave it to such a one, or to certain people who are skilled craftsmen and will mend it; 2. When a thing is broken, impute the blame for the mishap to so-and-so.

539 829 177 **356. Hange ha tama Polataane:** Like a British man.

This indicates one of martial aspect. Presumably the Tongans in the days of their first contact with European seamen grew accustomed to the sight of fully armed landing parties.

539 643 466 264 823 **357. Koe aho ni ape e tuku ki Uvea:** Today apparently is to be left to Uvea.

When the Tui Tonga had a big piece of work on hand, as for example building or repairing his boat, the *Akihenho*, the duty of feeding the carpenters was apportioned among the various districts in rotation, even as far as Uvea. The Uveans lived a long way off, and on their day the workmen frequently went hungry. So on any day when it was not clear whether any food would be forthcoming for them or not the carpenters were wont to say, "H'm, looks as though today were being left to Uvea." Used generally of uncertainty whether a desired event will happen or not.

539 823 [177] [609] **358. Ko Vaihi e:** That's Hawaii.

Indicates that which is far off and impossible. Much as English people speak of asking for the moon. "Did you get such a thing?" "That's Hawaii," that is, I have as much chance of getting that as I have of getting Hawaii. We are unable to say with certainty, but think it probable that this name Vaihi is no old recollection preserved in Tongan tradition, but a recent innovation since the visits of European vessels. A variation of this is *Ko Vaihi matalo'lou*, that is, yellow-eyed, or yellow, Hawaii; but we do not know the reason of the epithet.

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DISTINGUISHED PERSONS

359. Halaia Moli tuku kia Loli: Moli guilty—attribute it to Loli. 539 571

We have no information about Moli and Loli, but the phrase means that the blame of one man's wrong-doing is thrown onto another.

360. Hola pe te ke hao ki he fale o Vave: Flee that you may be safe to the house of Vave. 539 571 701

Vave was a great warrior who lived in Haavakaotua, a district near Nukualofa. So great was his might and so secure were those whom he protected that to flee to him for safety passed into a proverb.

361. Tekei a Lei hono fuu mei: Pushing Lei from his bread-fruit tree. 539 571 421

We have not been able to get any story relative to Lei or his bread-fruit tree, but the expression means to deprive anyone of what rightfully belongs to him.

362. Vikia vikia a Apolosi, Pea kuo te viku pongipongi: Apollos is praised, praised, and I am wet in the morning. 539 793

This is modern, since the introduction of Christianity. Apollos was a Tongan native clergyman held in high repute. On one occasion he was sailing in a boat with a silly man named Pane whom during the course of the voyage he pushed into the sea. Pane sank, and as he came up vented his disgust at the cleric's treatment in the above rather cryptic utterance. The force of "in the morning" seems to be either that the outrage was perpetrated early in the day, or early in the voyage, or perhaps that this was Pane's first acquaintance with the reverend gentleman, and so "right away," "first go off." "Here's a nice sort of chap for you; everybody praises him, but all I've ever got out of him is a jolly good ducking."

LEGENDARY DEITIES

363. Alu hifo ki takele o Maui: Go down to Maui's foundation, that is, to the depths of the earth. 539 776 773

In the distribution to the gods of residences the Underworld was assigned to Maui.

364. Jika a Maui: Darting of Maui. 539 776 773 524

Used of a long throw in the game of *jika*. Baker renders the phrase, "columns of smoke," which seems to liken a column of smoke rising straight and high into the air to the great cast which Maui might be expected to make in the form of *jika* in which the object was to throw as high as possible; but since the Maui lived in the Underworld it may be that the column of smoke is likened to a cast of these redoubtable deities from their subterranean home into the upper air.

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539 776 773 **365. Tamajii tali kelo:** Tiresome child, especially of one who talks insistently of what he can do, or is going to do, but does not do it.

The literal meaning is rather obscure, but appears as "child receiving, or stopping, catching, brown," which is not the most intelligible of phrases. Tongan tradition assigns the origin of the expression to Maui Atalanga, the father of Maui Kijikiji; during the time when the two Maui were living in Vavau. At least two accounts are extant of the circumstances in which the phrase was first used, but they vary only in details. Tradition is agreed that the Maui were living in the neighborhood of Haalauiuli and Taanea. In the one account they went to slay a huge man-eating rat. They found the beast sitting in the mouth of his hole. The rat rushed at them, but they struck it and it fled for shelter to its nest. Then the question arose between the Maui of a plan of campaign. Each wished the other to dig the rat out while he himself waited to receive it as it ran out. At length the elder gave in to the importunity of his son, impatiently exclaiming as he did so "*Ae tamajii tali kelo,*" perhaps, "A fine sort of boy to receive this brown beast." Young Kijikiji, however, was as good as his vaunt and seized and strangled the rat as he ran from his lair. The other account says that the two Maui went to catch a big brown pig and the dispute was as to who was to pelt the pig and who to catch him as he ran in his direction. As before the elder Maui exclaimed "*Ae tamajii tali kelo (ni),*" "A fine sort of boy to catch (or receive) this brown creature," or, "A boy to catch this brown creature." It may be noticed that in Fijian there is a word *ŋg-gelo* meaning lame (Hazelwood, Fijian and English Dictionary, translates *gelo* as crooked-footed, soles turned up). If this word existed in Tongan it would [578] have the form *kelo*. For the elder Maui to exclaim angrily to his son "Boy fit to catch a lame man, or creature," seems more in line with the abusive language of the Tongans, as of other peoples, than the explanations noted above; but, however attractive this may be, it cannot be adopted in the absence of positive evidence that *kelo* in the sense of lame has been used in Tongan.

366. Tamajii ukei kia Maui: A boy challenging Maui, the legendary divine hero.

[183] This refers to one who has the assurance to challenge another stronger than himself. It is said to owe its origin to the impudent violence of the younger Maui, Maui Kijikiji, to his father Maui Atalanga, as a result of which the elder felled the younger with a spade. In Tongan legend the exploits of Maui Kijikiji quickly outrivalled those of his father Atalanga and to assign this phrase to the encounter between the two Maui may not seem therefore altogether appropriate. In any case the meaning is apparent.

367. Tavatava i Manuka: The literal meaning seems to be unknown in Tonga, but the expression indicates the betrayal of a secret.

Tongan legend ascribes the origin of this phrase to Tonga-fuji-fonua, Tonga the Land-Fisher, from whom the Maui procured the hook with

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which were hauled up from the depths of the sea many of the Tongan and other islands. Tonga-fuji-fonua lived in Manuka (Manu'a) in Samoa, and when the Maui's boat touched there the youngest Maui, Kijikiji, jumped ashore and met Tonga's wife, of whose person and heart he quickly made himself master. Tonga himself was away fishing at the time, and the woman confided to Kijikiji the secret of the right hook to select when they should make their request to him on his return. This hook was a rusty, unattractive object, and Tonga exclaimed when the Maui chose it, "Who has *tavatava i Manuka* for you?" An informant told Mr. Gifford that Tavatava was the name of the woman who betrayed the secret of the hooks to Kijikiji, but this appears a very doubtful derivation. We do not know the word in Tongan, though there are words which may contain the same root. Krämer states (Die Samoa-Inseln, II. Band, p. 423) that Tavatava is the name of a fish in Samoa, and quotes a song connected with the Tui Manu'a, in which this fish is mentioned (op. cit., I. Band, p. 422). Edward Tregear (Mangareva Dictionary) gives a word *tavatava* in Mangarevan meaning "clamorous and noisy in speaking; to speak shrilly or in a loud voice."

There is probably, however, some story or traditionary explanation connected with the phrase. In our ignorance of it mere guesses are futile.

368. Kuo hange kuo emo e Faifaimalie: It is as though Faifaimalie had licked it up.

Faifaimalie (Do gently, go slowly) was a goddess famous for her appetite. She especially distinguished herself during a visit to Pulotu. Not stopping at the food provided by her divine entertainers, she made a clean sweep of the baskets and other containers in which it was brought. Faifaimalie's lick, therefore, indicates a complete clearance.

369. Tala pouli a puko: The *puko* telling in the dark.

Baker renders this expression: "To backbite and be overheard by the party." Among the present-day Tongans this phrase seems to be lost, at all events with the meaning given by Baker. It has been also explained as meaning to disobey, to be told to do a thing and not to do it—an interpretation connected with the story of the speaking *puko* tree, which grew in Pulotu. The legendary traveller, Longopoa, who had made a journey to Pulotu, encountered this wonderful tree, which not only spoke but which was able to supply food, drink, shelter and other mortal wants. When leaving, Longopoa took a branch of this tree, which the tree itself told him to plant on his return to Tonga before he greeted his friends. Had Longopoa done as he was told the *puko* trees in Tonga, all of which sprang from this branch, would have been speaking trees like their progenitor. But the traveller neglected the warning and went to see his friends before he planted the tree. The *puko* tree in Tonga, therefore, does not possess the power of speech. In this account of the meaning of the proverb the significance of the words "in the dark" is said to be that the *puko* in Pulotu was accosted by Longopoa, supplied his wants and gave him his instructions during the night.

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539 This tree in Pulotu is called by the Tongans the *puko lea*, speaking
773 *puko*, and it is curious that a tree in Samoa which has an equivalent name
571 (*pu'aa* and which is apparently the same tree, is called *pu'angangana*,
824 speaking *pu'a*. (Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, II Band, p. 381.)

RELIGION

539 **370. E unua e tevolo:** The devil will be shifted.
776 Applied to one who is very hard to move. The idea is that it would
157 be easier to shift a devil than such a one, hard as devils are to move. (Compare Nos. 358, 340 and 133.)

539 **371. Fahu ae tapu:** The prohibition is removed.
554 The word *fahu*, which is of great importance in the understanding of
565 the social organization, indicates broadly rights enjoyed by reason of super-
784 ior family rank. A tabu can be removed by one who has this superiority to the one who imposed it, and *fahu* thus comes to be a technical word for the removal of tabu. As a question this phrase is used to rebuke one who has presumed to do that which he should not.

539 **372. Faka-momoa-tea:** White fowl fashion.
825 This seems to be the literal translation, taking *momoa* as the redupli-
787 cated form of *moa*, fowl. The white fowl is said to be an omen bird.
201 There are two principal senses in which the word is used; first, ominous, presaging evil; second, to weep for the living as though they were dead.

539 **373. Hange ko Hina:** Like Hina.
776 Hina was one of the most talked of goddesses, as Jimilau was one of
773 the most talked of gods. Both are represented as very beautiful. Should a discussion arise as to the identity of a goddess in a tale the story was likely to be finally credited to Hina. Similarly Jimilau would probably be
[829] hit on if the name of a male diety were in question. So to say that anyone is like Hina means that he is much talked of, or much abused.

539 **374. Hia i Fanakava:** Criminal in Fanakava.
778 Fanakava was the name of a very famous sanctuary in Mua, the chief
681 district of Tongatabu, and the home of the Tui Tonga and of other great lords. Up to the introduction of Christianity Fanakava afforded an inviolable sanctuary to all who gained it. The expression indicates a person guilty of some offense but secure from punishment.

539 **375. Ji e he tevolo:** The devil pushing.
776 Used sarcastically to one who is making a poor apology for his bad
183 conduct, "H'm, the devil shoved you into it." This phrase, which is recent, is said to have originated with a man who went visiting a lady he should not have visited, and who, when put on trial for his conduct, defended himself by saying that he went to the woman without knowing what he was doing and that he supposed the devil must have thrust him into the house.

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376. Jio pe ka kuo i A'a: Seeing but in A'a; equivalent to day-dreaming, absent-minded. 539 776

A'a is an island in Vavau where resided the two female deities Jiji and Faingaa, who used to appear in the form of the dark and light-colored heron respectively and to take the spirits of handsome men to their island. The bodies of the beaux thus deprived of their spirits would see and hear and to all appearance be carrying out their normal functions, but their souls were really far away. 825 774

377. Mamahii tapu ka kuo ilo: Solicitous for the tabu, but knowing. 539 784

This indicates one who is genuinely desirous of observing a tabu, but who knowing the value or charm of the thing prohibited is irresistibly attracted by it and may in the end even break the tabu. The story of Eve and the fruit has been quoted in illustration of this.

378. Mana hoo tevolo: May your devil have power (*mana*). 539 776

A threat of an angry man to another. Your god will need plenty of power to protect you from what I am going to do to you. In its present form it is modern, but with the substitution of some other word for *tevolo* (devil) may well be ancient. Another form of the same phrase is *Manamana hoo tevolo ke ta fai*, May your devil have power for us to do (strive together). The meaning of the two phrases is the same. Either expression may be preceded by *Ofa ke*, I hope that.

379. Ngali pe tevolo moe pouli: Devil just befitting the darkness

Sprites and ghosts and supernatural appearances usually show up at night. Applied to a person with a bad reputation to whom all sorts of bad actions are likely to be imputed. Having once got the reputation of a devil he is liable to be made to carry the blame for any fresh deed of darkness.

380. ·Pekepeka-tama.

This indicates the white flying-fox said to be an omen of disaster to the house of Ata the chief of Kolovai in the west of Tongatabu, and thence used generally of an omen, portent. The words seem literally to mean, Flying-fox lad, as though one were addressing the observation to another. *Tama*, lad, is frequently applied to chiefs irrespective of age, as *taahine*, girl, is used of chiefly woman. *Pekepeka* is the usual name for the swift (*Collocallia spodiopyga*), but in this instance seems to be a reduplicated form of *peka*, the flying fox. 539 825 787 [565] [561] [136]

381. Tevolo hala he jikota: A devil making a road of a kingfisher, that is, manifesting himself through the kingfisher (*Halcyon sacra*). 539 776 825 571 [136]

The habit of calling the old gods "devils" dates only from the introduction of Christianity. As this expression implies the kingfisher was one

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539 776 825 571 of the creatures of which the gods "made boats," as Tongan idiom has it, that is, in which they appeared. The proverb is applied to one who makes use of some other person or thing in order to effect his purpose.

382. To fuji aki vahaa ufi:

539 782 244 Baker renders this phrase, "A part of the heathen ceremony at the *Inaji*" (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p. 209). We have been able to find out nothing about this. Written as above it seems to have the perfectly simple sense of planting plantains between yams. It has been suggested that the correct meaning may be: to use the space between the yams as a measure to calculate the distance apart to plant the plantains. This also is quite in accordance with the literal meaning of the words. We may divide differently, and write, *To fuji aki vahaa ufi*, which would seem to mean, "running in between yams." We have not discovered either what part of the *Inaji* was so named, nor what proverbial application the phrase had.

THE PERSON

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

539 302 157 554 565 **383. Fie namu pako:** - Wishing to smell of *pako*.

The *pako* is a sweet smelling plant used for scenting oil, especially the oil of chiefs. The expression is capable of two kinds of application: desiring to do well that one's life and actions may have a fragrant odor, and the less generous meaning of conceit, trying to be like the chiefs.

539 735 291 **384. Fuji mo omo:** Pulling and slipping.

Used as noun or adjective equivalent to poverty, poor. Said to indicate literally one who is so poor that he cannot afford enough cloth for a proper sized *tala* (kilt), but has to put up with something so small that when he pulls it one way to cover a part of his body another part is left bare. Whether this be so or not it has come to mean those who have difficulty in "making ends meet."

539 291 301 **385. Laukau falelava:** Finery of various sorts.

Laukau, personal adornment, is used with the rather depreciatory nuance with which in English we speak of overdone, or over-vivid finery. *Laukau falelava* is not unlike such a colloquialism as, "Having 'em all on."

539 421 513 **386. Mafana a penu kehe:** Warmth of another's bed-clothes.

One man may have made himself very snug in another's covering, but can have no real ground of complaint when the rightful owner comes along and takes what belongs to him, leaving the snug man cold. So generally one may enjoy the advantage of using another man's property but he has no kick coming when the owner takes it to use for himself.

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387. Maomao ki taovala: Ready, prepared with *taovala*. 539

The *taovala* is the girdle, usually a piece of mat, put round the waist 292
before going into the presence of a chief. The phrase means to have the 183
taovala always handy to be used whenever needed; hence to be prepared for any emergency that may arise.

388. Pule Taoa: Taoa finery.

539
Pule is literally "spotted," "variegated," as the design in some cloths, 291
or the markings of a cowry shell. This expression is modern and is 177
applied to an European print with a big, gaudy pattern. It is said that one day several women from Taoa, a village in Vavau, went into a store in Neiafu and bought some prints, apparently of rather striking designs. While they were still in the store a man came in and, seeing their purchases, remarked in the words of this expression "Taoa is going in for spots," and the phrase has stuck.

389. Tui momoa: Dry knee, that is, a knee that is hard and dry through exposure to the weather. 539 291 735

A woman's ordinary dress should descend below the knee; an exception is made of the festive dresses worn in dances and sometimes on other ceremonious occasions. This expression indicates primarily a woman so poor that she cannot afford a sufficiently broad piece of cloth for her waistcloth, and so has her knees exposed to the sun and rain and wind. It is used derisively of a poor person.

390. Vala kovi fie kofu silika: Bad loin-cloth wanting to be silk dress. 539 291 554

Evidently modern. The point is rendered plainer if the statement is correct that in the early days silk cost as much as £5 a yard. Used of a commoner who wants to act the chief.

FACIAL EXPRESSION AND GESTURES

391. Faka-alinga lelei: Making a fair showing. 539

This expression carries the implication that there are faults behind the 828
pleasant exterior or that an amiable face may be the mask assumed by very unfriendly feelings.

392. Faka-pula-matai: Making eye swell.

539
Used of a very angry man, whose eyes protrude in his rage. May be 152
used also of the victim of this rage, whose eyes may swell with vexation 201
and grief, or who may even get a swollen eye through the physical application of the other man's anger; in this sense not unlike the English vulgarism of giving anyone a thick ear.

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539 152 **393. Hange ha matai fana hala:** Like the face of a man who has missed his aim.

201 521 Such a man will be ashamed of his poor shot (with gun or bow and arrows), and may attempt to hide his confusion with inconsequent talk. Used of someone who has done what he is ashamed of, and whose shame is betrayed in his face and talk.

539 481 828 **394. Hange ha tangitofuhia:** Like a bewildered diver.

Tangitofuhia is used of the bleeding from nose and ears caused by staying a long time under water. In this place it seems rather to refer to a partial loss of consciousness resulting perhaps from striking the head or of staying under water too long, which renders the diver unable to find his way again to the surface. The unfortunate diver will swim about at random in his vain efforts to come up. Applied to one who wanders aimlessly about, or whose thoughs are erratic and disjointed.

539 571 157 **395. Hange kuo takai kapa hono lae:** As though his forehead were sheathed in metal.

Kapa is the local variation of copper, and is used for metal generally. This would seem to be altogether modern, probably suggested by Biblical language, though the same idea of hardy shamelessness is expressed in the Tongan phrase "Veiled with clam-shell." (See No. 241.)

539 571 522 **396. Kamo lalo:** Making secret signs.

Not strictly a proverb; it means that a number of people sitting together one is ironically complimenting another, or in some other way fooling him, at the same time making signs to the rest of the company and thus admitting them into the joke. It is used very much like the Australianism "pulling his leg."

539 152 201 **397. Katakata a nifo tea:** Smiling white teeth.

This is what Uncle Remus calls "a fit of the dry grins." A man may try to cover his shame or confusion with a smile; his teeth will be showing white as though he were smiling but the real feeling of his heart is far from laughter.

539 152 **398. Lau lau louhulu:** Fingering, fingering dried leaves.

A man who is ashamed or embarrassed is likely to break off a piece of the dried leaves with which the houses are floored and keep twisting it about in his hands as he talks; if outside of the house he will pick up any stick or other such thing that happens to be at hand.

[461] So used generally of doing some more or less irrelevant thing to cover up deficiencies, or to hide one's shame and embarrassment, just as a man who is behind with his work may start hustling round to give the impression that he has been hard at it for hours.

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399. Malimali loto: Smiling (in the) heart. 539 152 828

Satisfaction with what is one's own; self-satisfaction. The expression is said to have originated with the handsome man *(manaia)* Vainuku who lived in Eua where he had a little pool of water which he used as a mirror. When he saw the reflection of his handsome face the sight filled him with pleasure, made his heart smile. The pool itself was named *Malimali loto.*

400. Mata mea fooua: Seeing a new thing.

Indicative of the surprise and gratification experienced at beholding an unaccustomed sight. (See No. 267.)

401. Pauu afi mata: Mischievousness pulling down lower lid of the eye. 539 201 578 522

To pull down the lower lid of one's eye at a person is an insulting gesture; but this phrase refers apparently to one who should be so impudent as to do it to the eye of another, as for example a pert child treating thus his mother's eye. The expression means excessively impudent or mischievous.

402. Tuai e kemo: The wink (is) slow. 539 805

Instantaneous, very quick, literally much quicker than a wink of the eyes.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE

403. Finemotua fie finemui: Old woman wanting to be young woman. 539 561 888

A rebuke to the lady who refuses to grow old gracefully; but strives to cheat the advancing years with the adornments and manners that befit the young and fair.

404. Mata kovi ka nae fili ekita: Ugly but I chose myself. 539 832 581

The most direct application of this is to a man who has taken to wife a lady not specially dowered with beauty. She is not handsome, but she is the choice of her husband.

405. Uliuli a fine Eua: The dark complexion of a Eua woman. 539 832 562 184

The women of Eua were not reckoned beauties, but were well looked after and hard to come at. If a boat called at Eua the women would freely move about and perform the tasks incidental to the entertainment of the visitors, but at night were shut up and carefully guarded. The expression refers slightingly to these ladies, who, in spite of their lack of charm, were jealously watched.

406. Jiiji a pakiji: The wiry man is lean. 539 826

The word *pakiji* means lean but strong. There is a certain redundancy in saying that such a strong wiry man is thin.

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539 826 **407. Lahilahi a ngavaivai:** A weak man is big, or the bigness of a weak man.

Big fleshy people have not the strength and endurance of those of lean wiry build. The companion phrase is *"Jiijii a pakiji,"* which indicates the tough endurance of the lean wiry man. (See No. 406.)

PHYSICAL DEFECTS

539 304 782 **408. Fafa he ho nima ku:** Stroke that with your stumpy hand.

Nima ku, that is a hand of which a finger has been mutilated by the amputation of a joint, is used familiarly for *nima*, hand. Before the introduction of Christianity such mutilation was extremely frequent, as finger joints were commonly sacrificed to the various gods. The expression is used by one who has done something that should prove gratifying to another; much as English speaking people say, "Well, what do you think of that?" The literal idea is that of fondling, caressing, with the hand, as though one should say "There's a deed, or a thing, of which you might well be fond."

409. Tonu a ulu-ku: Correctness of mutilated.

Refers directly to the customary mutilation of the hand by cutting off the top of the finger in sacrifice. A person with a hand thus disfigured might be very skillful in dances, many of which consist largely of motions of the hands, but the mutilation would to some extent mar the [183] charm. So generally of that which is done all right, but is spoiled by some defect.

539 827 **410. Kui lohiaki a:** A shortsighted man pretending to have good sight.

The shortsighted man may try to conceal his defect by pretending to see things that he is unable to distinguish clearly.

539 515 302 386 **411. Hange ha uku ha tula:** Like a bald man washing his head.

A bald man needs but a very thin mixture of lime or clay and water to cleanse his scanty locks. So a weak, watery decoction of *koka* (coloring matter for the native cloth), or of some other mixture, is compared to the head wash of a bald man.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 302 [137] **412. Aofanga tuku:** Head bound for hair burning.

The words used are chiefly. The place of a hair cut was taken in former times by a hair burn In one method the lower part of the head was bound round with a green leaf of the *ii* (*Cordyline terminalis*) and then the hair singed off the top. This phrase means literally the leaf for the hair-burning, and is said to indicate that the leaf is ready adjusted for the process to begin. When the leaf is bound round there is no other preparation to make, everything is ready, and thence the expression has come to denote final, last.

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413. Faala fakatau ki he muiulu: Looking (for lice) at the back of the head. 539 183 515

The back of the head is the favorite camping-ground of lice, and though the huntress may pick up a few strays in other localities it is at the back of the head that she is likely to make her largest bag. So used of looking for anything where it is most likely to be found.

414. Tata a tua nima: Nearness of back of the hand. 539 571 602 826

The back of the hand is very close to the palm, but when anything is grasped it is the palm only that touches it. Used of one who gets nothing when a close relative is distributing favors. In spite of his closeness he touches nothing.

415. Teeki pea toki fakataane: Break wind and then sit properly. 539 827 576 516

The uncouth first word is often exchanged for *angavale*, behave vulgarly. The phrase indicates one who squats down on his heels, or otherwise sits carelessly in company, and whose unguarded behavior is the cause of an embarrassing accident. Afterwards he sits as he should (*fakataane* is the sitting posture of the men) but then it is too late to repair the slip. Generally refers to one who after an accident takes the precautions that he should have taken before. Shutting the stable door after the horse has got out.

416. Tufotufa ulu-nima: Distributing (with) fingers. 539 431 183

Giving away grudgingly; not grasping heartily and offering with good will, but taking hesitatingly and unwillingly presenting something with the ends of the fingers. (Compare No. 111.)

HOME AND COMPOUND

417. Ana jiko-makii: Cave sullied with excrement. 539 356 [342]

Used of a place of human habitation or resort originally small and inconvenient and rendered still more so by the careless filthiness of those who use it. In connection with this it is asserted that caves were the earliest dwellings of the people. (See No. 425.)

418. Hifo i toumua: Going down to (one's own) frontage, that is, one leaving his house and going down to the road straight in front of his place. 539 351 461

The frontage is in line with his own property, and so the phrase comes to be used of one putting his hand to a task that is in line with his powers, undertaking that which he is well able to perform.

419. Hikihiki kaua: Shifting fence or boundary. 539 423 571 829

"Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark." Boundaries are tabu and must not be tampered with. For the strong to shift the boundary of the weak would be a mark of tyrannous effrontery. The expression is a reproach to those who change what should be inviolably fixed.

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539 516 526 423 571 **420. Teketeke tuakoi:** Pushing one, sitting with his back to mine.

This was sometimes done in sport, two people sitting back to back and pushing against each other. Frequently others would join in helping one or the other side. A proverbial use of this expression does not seem to be known today, but Baker gives: "To push away or remove the landmark of another to increase his own," which evidently pictures two contiguous compounds as sitting back to back.

539 352 484 **421. Hiki moe faliki:** Moving with the floor.

The floor of a Tongan house is formed of dry coconut leaves strewed on the ground and covered with mats. A man in shifting quarters will not usually takes these flooring leaves with him, but this expression indicates a migration so complete that it leaves the ground bare; house, floor, and everything being on the march.

539 829 571 **422. Kama e mea ae api kehe:** Attending to the thing in another's home.

This is much like No. 423, used of one who neglects his own business and attends to that of other people. (See No. 346.)

423. Kama noa he mea ae api kehe: To exert oneself for nought in the affairs of another compound.

To use one's energy in labors from which he will get no return; the fruit of his labors will go to those who own the compound.

539 312 **424. Lepa tali ki langi:** Cistern dependent on the sky; a cistern which is filled only by the rain.

[177] [178] The whole matter of water supply and conservation has been modified, of course, by the introduction of European roofing-iron and tanks. Of the cisterns dug formerly by the people some were filled by carrying water from springs; others were filled only by rain. As notable examples of rain-filled cisterns mention is made of natural holes in the rocks near the sea on the [821] islands of Fotuhaa in Haapai, and Niua Foou. We cannot say whether any such expression as this was used in pre-Christian days to express the dependence of man on the gods, but it is used now of the reliance of man on heaven.

539 261 515 **425. Takamilo jiko i tua peito:** Going round defecating outside cook-house.

One should not bring any defilement near the place where his food is prepared, nor should he in any way dishonor his own home. The expression is much like the English proverb about a bird fouling its own nest. (See No. 417.)

539 372 261 **426. Tu mo hokohoka:** Lighting and dabbing, that is, lighting a fire and then dabbing the end of the lighted sticks on the ground to extinguish them; frequently lighting a fire and letting it go out.

Applied to frequently preparing food during the course of one day.

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427. Valoki e kulo ki he fakapaku: The pot scolding the frying-pan. 539 571

An entirely modern adaptation of the English pot and kettle expression, and with the same meaning. (See No. 483.)

DOMESTIC RELATIONS

MOTHER AND CHILD

428. Fakamui i mama: At the end in chewing. 539 855 593

Mothers often feed young children by chewing up food in their own mouths and then transferring it to the mouths of the children. This expression indicates a mother who chews food for her child but deprives the youngster of his due by swallowing a portion of the food and giving the child the remainder. The literal meaning seems to be, "at the end of the chewing (she swallows)," or more probably, "(she gives the child) the end of the chew," that is, what is left after her own swallow.

429. Kai tama: Child eating.

Applied to parents who are unkind to their children, and also to those who are unkind to close relatives. [602]

430. Kuo ta ki hono uho: It was struck to his naval-corn. 539 852 844 828

After the birth of a child the umbilical cord was cut by the father or male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord in a convenient position, and the father severed it with a hatchet uttering a wish for the future destiny of the child: that a girl would be beautiful; that a boy would become a great warrior or fisherman, and the like. So when anyone is peculiarly apt at some particular task or seems to have been born to meet some special circumstances that have arisen, it is not uncommon to say that his cord was cut for that, just as we say in English that he was destined for it.

431. Lau tama fai ki he fatu: Reckoning a child in the womb. 539 183

Wait till the child is safely born before you have anything to say about it, or any plans to make for it. It is just like our English expression, "Counting your chickens before they are hatched."

This recalls, though it has no very direct bearing on it, the story of a chiefly woman who died during pregnancy, and after the vault in which she was buried had been closed up those busy about the grave heard the cry of a child from below. The matter was reported to the King who ordered that the child should be named Finau Taeiloa, that is, Finau Unknown. This is said to be the origin of the name Finau Taeiloa. 539 553

432. Ofa a fine paa: Love of barren woman. 539 851 554 829

Great as the love of a childless woman may be yet it does not reach the intensity of the love of a mother.

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539 844 **433. Tama tongia:** Child that can be substituted.

If a child dies the mother may get another child, and so be comforted for the loss of the other. This loss is not irretrievable, though grievous.

539 593 554 851 **434. Tama tuu he fae:** Child standing in the mother.

This is capable of varying application to the character and standing of the child conforming to those of the mother, but its primary reference would seem to be to the dependence of a child's rank on that of his mother. The child of a chiefly woman is chiefly, while the child of a chiefly man by a woman of inferior rank will take the status of the mother.

539 855 **435. Vale ia tama:** Foolish about a child.

The word *tama* is used of a mother's child. A different word is used when speaking of a child as the offspring of a father. This expression refers therefore only to the mother and recognizes the indulgence with which any extravagance should be regarded when it is the outcome of a mother's fondness for her child.

ADOPTION OF CHILDREN

597 [The adoption of children is an exceedingly common feature of Tongan social life.]

539 597 **436. Ohiohi pea kovi:** Adopted and bad.

This expression indicates that the affection of the adoptive parents has been lost, or tinctured with resentment, by some unworthy conduct of the child. The adoption has ended badly, or has come to a period where some at least of its friendliness has been replaced by less friendly feelings. This is similar to *Pelepele pea mele*, No. 439.

539 597 571 **437. Tala kovi kae ohi:** Speaking an ill thing but (then) adopting.

This is to refuse a request, perhaps with some anger, but afterwards to relent and grant what was asked. The idea seems to be that after the first churlishness one acts with as much kindness as though he were adopting into his own family the person to whom he had at first refused, but was now granting, the desired boon.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 571 829 **438. Faka-pelea a vale:** Making a pet of fool, with the obvious inference of the uselessness of such kindness.

539 593 855 **439. Pelepele pea mele:** Petted and coming to grief.

Should a favorite child, or any other who is petted, presume on the preference shown him and do wrong he will be punished. His petting will become a spoiling, not in the sense in which we use the word spoil, of a favorite; but the rank of favorite will be spoiled. It has a special reference also to wrong-doing by a chief's wife.

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440. Pele tonoi: An adulterous favorite; one who returns the kindness of another by debauching his wife. 539 837 571

441. He oku fola fala kae alea e kainga: For the mats are spread and kin are talking. 539 593 602

The mats are the sleeping mats, and the picture is that of intimate domestic converse between those who may freely declare their minds without fearing the anger of their auditors, who, being their own kin, will stand even unfavorable criticism. Far different is this intercourse from the circumspection which must be observed in addressing the great of the land without the family circle. [576]

442. Talatala i fale: Speaking in the house, that is, in the privacy of the home, and among close kin, as for example the admonition of a father to his son. 539 521 593 602

443. Tala loto fale: Telling inside house. 539

This saying does not seem to be known, at least not very generally known, nowadays. Baker renders it: "To speak evil; to speak to incite to evil." Evidently the idea is of taking the opportunity of private intercourse to utter things which one would not like to say before many auditors. 521

444. Apijia tae lava: Ceremony that does not come off. 539

Applied, for example, to a man who writes to a girl, or otherwise tries to win her for his wife, but is unsuccessful in his suit. The word *apijia*, which is probably connected with *api*, home, indicates that which one does for himself, for his own home. 584

445. Apitanga a lalahi: Camp of grown up people. 539

Used of a place where grown people only are living together without any of the trouble and care incident to the presence of children. A boat's crew is sometimes thus spoken of. 571

446. Fangu malingi i fale lahi: Calabash poured out in big house. 539

The calabash is the receptacle in which the sweet scented oil for anointing the body was kept, and the name has come to be applied to the oil itself. Whether in this phrase we translate *fangu* by calabash or by oil the meaning is the same. The *fale lahi*, big house, is the house in which the young men used to live together. The phrase indicates the holding of something in common. If one man took out his bottle of oil to anoint himself another and then another might use it after him until perhaps the oil was finished. No offence, however, would be taken at this, as the owner would not assert his private rights against his fellow-lodgers in the big house. 415 302 575 571

447. Kaumea kaumea faingamea: Friends, friends quarreling. 539

The reduplication of the word *kaumea* (friends) indicates a long continued comradeship; but it is at last broken by strife. 572

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539 592 829 571 **448. Nonofo nonofo iloa ae tae oe nonofo:** Living together, living together, the excrement of the living together (or of those living together) is discovered.

Baker renders it: "To live together for a length of time, and then find out the evil of so doing." This seems a very likely meaning, but the expression is also explained as equivalent to the English, "It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest."

539 622 565 602 431 **449. Tangi ke vikia kae au ae kainga:** Desiring to be praised but the relatives badly off.

This particularly indicates a chief who makes a liberal distribution of his food and other wealth, but overlooks the claims of his own immediate followers. He may earn the reputation of generosity from numerous people who have benefitted by his ostentatious gifts, but those whom every consideration of justice and gratitude should have recommended to his most kindly treatment are left to suffer want. Also written, *Holi ke vikia*.

539 595 183 577 **450. Hala a jinifu:** Wrong-doing of concubine.

Wrong-doing, punishment for which involves others besides the actual offender. If one of the wives of a chief proved false to her lord the whole harem shared her guilt and punishment.

539 603 571 **451. Ofoofa a kui:** Love of grandparent.

The love of grandparents is very sincere but their anger is to be dreaded, as in their wrath they may strike the offending grandchildren how and where they will. The love of one whose affection is undoubted, but whose position of authority is such that he may punish without let or hindrance.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

539 584 [726] **452. A maumau taimi:** Awake, wasting time.

Applied, for instance, to the man who spends his evenings wooing a girl whom he has no chance of winning. Used also in derision by the warriors inside a fortress to the foe whom they see outside watching early and late for an opportunity to force an entrance.

[177] In its present form with its employment of *taimi*, a corruption of the English time, this phrase is modern, but with the slight change to *A maumaunoa*, waking to no purpose, it may well be ancient.

453. Anefe ha taha a Majilamea: When was there anyone of Majilamea?

A beautiful chiefly girl of Vavau was courted by a chief of Majilamea in Vavau. This gentleman was not a very glib speaker nor apparently was he very lavish with his gifts to the lady. His courting was evidently a rather dull infliction on the damsel. She was wooed and won by another man who was not a chief, but who had the art of pleasing speech and the

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further recommendation of being openhanded. The dour chief of Majilamea was rejected with the scornful inquiry as to when there was ever a man worth while from Majilamea. 539 584

Another rendering of this phrase, seemingly the more widely used, and probably the better, is *Kai pe tae a Majilamea* [Eat offal (excrement), Majilamea.] A delicate invitation of this sort is a common form of Tongan billingsgate. The expression has a wide application and may be compared in general with the Biblical question, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?" 539 578 261

454. Fakakiki kae oho: Trembling but making a rush. 539

This indicates the rushing of a man into the danger which he at first feared. An instance given of its application does not indicate very stern perils, being nothing more alarming than the fair charmer before whom a man finds himself embarrassed and fearful, but whom at last he wins for his own. 584

455. Hoa a kehe: Mating of different (sorts). 539

Those who are married, or in some other way united, but are not well matched. 593

456. Manako Sea manako Sau: Baker translates this phrase: "To be in love with two opposite parties or things." 539 584

This, or some kindred meaning, seems undoubtedly to express the sense of the phrase, but it is difficult to get today a reliable explanation of the literal meaning. *Sea* and *sau* are unknown as common nouns and if they are used as names their occurrence must be very infrequent. However, Dr. Krämer (Samoa-Inseln, I Band, pp. 121 ff. and 176) quotes both *Sea* (in composition) and *Sau* as Samoan names for women. The Tongan account of the proverb is that *Sea* and *Sau* were two beautiful women (probably Samoans), both beloved by a handsome man (Tuitonga in one account) who, being unable to make up his mind between their rival charms, in the end got neither. One story makes a happier ending by asserting that he got both.

457. Mata lupe kehea: Seeing other dove. 539

The word dove is used here of a sweetheart and seems to be a very old term of endearment applied by a man to his mistress. This phrase means a man who has become enamored of a new charmer and forgotten his old love. 837

458. Poloji poloji pea koji kovi: Long-haired, long-haired, and cut evilly. 539 836

The wearing of two long locks of hair at the back of a girl's head was a sign of virginity, these locks being cut at marriage. Virginity was highly prized in a bride and was marked by special features in the marriage ceremony. The expression indicates a girl who has lost the right to wear the maiden locks before being duly married. 302 585

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539 836 302 585 565 Another explanation is that long locks were the sign of a betrothed maiden, and the expression means a maiden bethrothed by a chief who after all does not marry her. When finally she loses the virginal strands of hair it is not by being married to the chief she expected but by making a lowlier match. (See No. 459.)

539 262 585 **459. Ikai ha lu loloi:** Not a leaf cooked in oil.

Leaves of the taro and nowadays of the cabbage are frequently cooked with coconut and eaten. Used here as the symbol of the smallest and meanest kind of presentation of food. This phrase is not used alone, but as a completion of No. 458. The meaning is that the unfortunate girl has no sort of celebration; not even this trifling food gift falls to her share.

539 584 571 888 **460. See so:** Scaring off sweethearting.

Literally of a grave and reverend elder, or some such objectionable person, intruding on young men and maids. Thence of anyone "butting in" where he is not wanted.

539 584 829 **461. Vale pe he valeanga:** Foolish in the thing to be foolish about.

This refers to one who has been hard hit by the tender passion. A man madly in love may do many things that are not quite in accord with his customary well-balanced sanity, but what else is to be expected from a man in love? He is foolish, but under circumstances in which the whole world is apt to be a little less sane than usual.

539 584 **462. Viku ae malo o Afitu mo Lakepa:** The passion of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the praise of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the loin-cloth of Afitu and Lakepa is damped.

Whatever the literal translation the expression refers primarily to the disappointment suffered by the handsome (*manaia*) Lolo, son of the chief of Afitu, who had also some connection with Lakepa or its chiefly house. Lolo had been uniformly successful in love until one occasion when he was taking home in his boat a fair lady who preferred another gallant, named Lepuha of Leimatua in Vavau (Lolo also lived in Vavau it would seem), and who jumped overboard and swam ashore and joined her lover. Lolo's chagrin is expressed in this phrase.

[576] *Malo* is a common word for praise, thanks, and possibly the expression means that the praise of Afitu and Lakepa has had a set-back.

[291] [287] *Malo* is also a small loincloth worn when one wants to be unencumbered with dress, as in fighting. The native-cloth is spoiled by wetting, and so the expression may mean that the cloth is spoiled.

Another meaning of *malo* is the bloom of the breadfruit tree, and the explanation which involves this signification is perhaps on the whole the best. The bloom of the breadfruit both from its shape and its function as a forerunner of fruit is likened to the membrum virile; and the expression is thus a very broad jest on the gallant's disappointment. [826] [831]

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463. Viku ae malo o Uiha: The passion of Uiha is damped. 539 584

This is connected with two handsome gentlemen named Tatafu, one of whom lived in Uiha and the other in Haano, both in the Haapai group. Both went to Samoa to pay their court to a famous beauty. The Haano man was successful and the Uiha representative disappointed.

SPEECH, BOASTING, JESTING

464. Fie matai: Wanting to be craftsman.

Used in rebuke of one who "butts in" with his advice where it is not wanted; who tries to "boss the show." *Matai* is a Fijian word the Tongan equivalent of which is *tufunga*, craftsman. 539 571

465. Tala a fine jii kae ikai mavivi: A little woman saying but not able to do.

Bears its obvious interpretation of small people boasting of being able to do what is beyond their strength.

466. Tala pea ngali: Telling and befitting.

Used of one who says no more than he is able to do. His abilities befit his words.

467. Vahe tala: Dividing speech.

One who divides well, has excellent headings for his talk, but with very little doing to back up his talk. [537]

Another term for what in Australia is called "skite."

468. Hua fetaui: Joking well contested.

Two who in the give and take of a battle of wit are well matched. So of those generally who are evenly mated. (See Nos. 469 and 597.) [522]

469. Hua feiloaki: Joking of those accustomed to each other.

Like Nos. 468 and 597 indicates the contest of those who are evenly matched.

470. Hange ha hua mo ha lautohi: Like jesting with school-children.

Wasting one's jests on those who cannot appreciate them, exercising one's wit on those who cannot be expected to be a match in the give and take of repartee. Generally of those who are not evenly matched. In its present form it is of course modern. [522]

471. Tuli pe hua ke malie: A joke aims only at being pleasing. 539 522

There are those who in their jests give a certain amount of pain to others, but still we laugh for the object of the joke is not the pain that is given but the laugh. What is meant as jest should be taken in jest.

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539 521 **472. Tupua tala kia tamaiki:** Riddle told to children.

Used of a secret that is not kept. If the answer to the riddle is told to children it will not be long before everybody else knows it too.

539 521 **473. Jio e mata kae hoka e tala:** The eye is seeing but the speech is wounding (stabbing).

571 578 Used of those who are speaking ill of another quite unconscious that the person defamed is looking on and listening to ill words spoken of himself. As an illustration the story of Muni is quoted. This legendary hero returning home at night is arrested at the door by hearing his foster-parents within discussing himself very much to his disadvantage.

474. Longo moe loto. Silent with the heart, or silent and the heart.

Used of one who is saying nothing but who has bad feeling in his heart.

475. Tala i hanga mai: Telling while looking at me.

Used of one who speaks fair and friendly words to another, but concealed in his heart are sentiments of a very different sort. A's real feelings towards B are very different from those expressed in his actual conversation with B.

539 521 **476. Aau e mala kehe kae tuku be hoto mala:** To explicate the misfortune of another but disregard my own misfortune.

Used of one who has much to say about the evils and misfortunes of other people, but who passes over his own in silence. *Mala*, translated as misfortune, has sometimes express reference to death.

539 521 571 **477. Fakahaohao mua:** Taking care, heading off, beforehand.

This is used of one who has a visitor whom he guesses has come to ask some favor which he is unwilling to grant. Before the conversation has got round to the point where the request will be advanced he talks in such a way as to make the petition difficult. For example, divining that his visitor has come to beg seed yams he forestalls him by remarking that he has had very bad luck with his yams this season, that they have all gone rotten, and that he does not know where to get seed to plant his garden. (See No. 478.)

478. Lavelave mua: Getting in ahead.

Like No. 477 refers to one who staves off a request which he does not wish to grant.

539 537 **479. Leveleva e malanga kae tau atu:** The speech is long but (may it) go home to you (my hearers).

This used to be a common termination of the speeches made by the *matapules* in the presence of great chiefs. Used generally it has its obvious meaning of a hope that what has been urged or asked for by the speaker will be done or granted.

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480. Tala tae fai tuunga: Talk without making standing place, that is, to report something without adducing grounds of belief. 539 829 521

481. Tala tae fakaejia: Talk without putting a handle to it, that is, to tell something without adducing any proof or grounds of belief.

Baker understands the "handle" to one's talk to refer to appropriate action following on words, and translates the phrase, "To say and do not; to say one thing but do the contrary." The expression probably lent itself to both uses.

482. Tauange mo koe: I sincerely desire of you. 539

This is hardly a proverbial expression but is freely used in earnest entreaty. 521

483. Vale tala vale: Fool telling fool; one fool upbraiding another for his folly.

Used like similar expressions in English. (See No. 427.)

483a. Oku longo a Tonga: Tonga is silent.

Tongans are not in the habit of talking while eating and so this phrase is applied jocularly to a party of Tongans sitting silent at a meal. It is said to have been first applied by Fijians. [264]

DISEASE AND MEDICINE

484. Avanga kai ate: Possession (by a spirit) consuming liver. 539

The liver is reckoned the seat of life and of at least some of the passions. The term *avanga* is applied to those illnesses which are caused by demonic possessions. Proverbially this phrase is applied to the yearning and distress of intense love. 826 753 787 [832]

It is worthy of note that in ceremonies the liver of a slaughtered pig is taken and presented to the chief. This is stated to be a presentation to the chief of the whole of the pig's life. (See also No. 485.) [623] [825]

485. Kuo toona hoku ate: My liver is baked. 539

This indicates distress. My life is consumed, wasted away. 826

486. Foki mei he uhi: Returning from the *uhi*. 539

Restoration to health from an apparently hopeless sickness. The *uhi* *(Evodia hortensis)* is largely used in native medicine, so largely that it perhaps stands here as the type of a drug which will be tried without much expectation of its proving efficacious when the practitioners are at their wits' end. 757 [137]

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539 278 272 273 **487. Hange ha inu vai tulotula:** Like drinking *tulotula* medicine.

This particular member of the Tongan pharmacopoeia has no pronounced or unpleasant taste and one may drink it like water. Probably the drugs that enter into its composition are not very strong and they do not produce very marked effects. Used of one who drinks large quantities of liquids like kava or spirits without showing any effects.

539 164 577 **488. Hange ha kainiloto:** Like a *kainiloto*.

Kainiloto is an ulcerous or cancerous affection of the throat and nose whose nature is indicated by its name, which means eating inside. The disease has already committed serious ravages in the interior of the body before it becomes apparent on the surface. The phrase is applied to an evil which is hidden at first and only shows up when it has reached a very serious stage and is extremely difficult to cope with.

539 826 752 **489. He oku ai ha hui kape loto:** For is there a bone (needle) to pick out (what is in the) heart?

If one gets a splinter, for instance, in any external part of the body he can easily pick it out with a needle; but there is no needle that can pick out the secrets in the heart.

539 514 758 **490. Kovi jiko ngaoi:** To evacuate the bowels moving about is bad.

This is applied to a sick man, who, instead of lying down patiently and taking the care that his ill health demands, wants to be up and at work. His unwisdom is parallel to that of the man who should try to walk about while performing a function that is obviously inconsistent with walking exercise.

539 758 **491. Mahaki fakapopo fala:** Sickness rotting mat.

Refers to very protracted illness in which the patient is lying down so long that it might be said that his bed mats are rotting under him.

539 757 484 368 **492. Malumalu talavai:** Shady (for) getting medicine.

Probably a late phrase, dating from the establishment of the mission stations and of Government hospitals with their dispensaries. Such dispensaries are naturally in the larger villages and people often travel a considerable distance to reach them. The phrase indicates the cool of the late afternoon suitable for the journey to a village where a dispensary stands.

539 758 183 **493. Mangu bea lau:** Scab and touching with the fingers, that is, picking the scab from a sore.

Making a bad thing worse by meddling.

539 164 554 565 **494. Papanga eiki:** Level chiefs.

Papanga means to be disfigured by having the nose eaten away by a kind of ulceration not very uncommon in these islands. If the nose is gone the face is level, there is no boldly jutting out feature left. So of a gather-

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ing where there are a number of big chiefs none of whom has any marked superiority of rank over the others. In such circumstances the work of distribution of kava, food, and other materials, becomes difficult, as questions of precedence are then delicate. 539 169 554 565

495. Hange ha fononga Makave: Like people from Makave. 539

Makave in Vavau is reputed to have had an unusually large proportion of unfortunates disfigured by the ulceration, which destroys the nose. The expression is used of very well cooked food which is compared to the appearance of the victims of this disease. 164 261

496. Tahataha e tama pea papala: Only one child and afflicted with sores. 539 164

The original reference is to parents who have only one child, and that one covered with sores. The expression is applied to those who have only one of a thing, and that one is bad. 812

DEATH AND BURIAL

497. Afia e mala kehe: Keeping vigil in other people's misfortune. 539

The misfortune referred to is death. It is proper for the relatives of the dead to keep watch round the body. This expression indicates one who joins the watchers round the body of a dead person with whom he has no family connection. Among its applications is one to a man who pays unsuccessful court to a girl. He spends his nights and loses his sleep in visits to the young lady who in the end falls to the lot of some other wooer. As we might say in slang that is very near to the Tongan expression, "it has been somebody's else 'funeral.'" 764 751 [584]

498. Lau hono fala: His mat is reckoned, or his sand is reckoned. 539

When one is about to die people are sent to commence arrangements for interment by getting the sand up from the seashore to fill in the grave and build up the mound over it. At the present time this sand is carried in ordinary rough baskets of coconut leaf but previously it used to be brought in mats wound round the waist and having a large fold in the front into which the sand was put. The phrase means that death is certain. One frequently hears it, for instance, in games, said of a side whose defeat appears to be inevitable and imminent. (See No. 505.) 763 [485] [415] [482]

499. Lelei ae ofa ki afitoka: Kindness to the cemetery is good. 539

I feel kindly disposed to this person, but it is best that he be laid to rest in the burying-ground and that my love should go out to him there. Used, for example, of one who for a long time has been very sick, so that his friends despair of his recovery and are tired of looking after him. 761

500. Hange ha mata tae pokia: Like an eye not shut. 539

This refers to the closing of the eye of the dead. The expression is used of one who sleeps with his eyes open, also of a person with a frank open countenance, and of sun, moon, or stars when they appear clear and unclouded. 764 513 826 821

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539 761 287 **501. Hange ha mate mutukia:** Like a cut off death.

Mutukia means trimmed, as for example the edges of the native cloth which are trimmed during manufacture. Thence *mate mutukia* means sudden, unexpected, death. The expression is used of the unexpected occurrence of a painful or disastrous event.

539 764 **502. Matamatalelei fakafaitoka:** Beautiful like a cemetery.

People may adorn and care for a cemetery but however well it looks it is still not a place that one feels much at home in. So used of that which is beautiful but fails to evoke the feeling of appreciative comfort that makes one desire to linger in its vicinity.

539 768 183 **503. Noo ua poaki:** Begging off being strangled.

Refers to the strangling of victims on the death of a chief or other circumstances of a like nature where a human victim was called for. This taking of life seemed a quite proper thing and ordinarily evoked no popular dissent. This expression signifies literally that the individual to whom was assigned the leading part in the tragedy sought to evade his duty by an appeal to the people. So the phrase comes to mean attempting to beg off a duty which should be carried out.

539 764 521 **504. Tala fai ki tano:** Speech made to burying-ground.

Exhortation, commands, or other expressions directed towards the cemetery where there is none able to take heed and profit by what is said. So of totally unprofitable discourse.

539 764 763 **505. To hono aveave:** Plant his *aveave*.

A branch of the *aveave* (*Codiaeum variegatum* Pratt), was stuck into the ground in a cemetery to mark the spot where a grave was to be dug. When it was clear that a sick person was about to die a man was told to put in the *aveave*, which he did as a mark to direct those whose business it was to see to the digging of the grave and carrying out of the burial. The *aveave* was left at the grave to grow. The expression, therefore, is equivalent to saying that so-and-so is nearing his end, that it is all up with him.

It is interesting to note that a grave was not left open. The digging of the grave was one of the last pieces of work done in preparation for the interment and never done before the sick person was actually dead, though the *aveave* might be planted while the patient was still alive. In recent years we have seen a coffin made for an old lady, who though frail had vitality sufficient to do a little work even outside the house, and who survived by many months the completion of her coffin, which stood meanwhile on the side verandah of her house. Should an interment be postponed till the day after the grave had been dug, the hole will be filled in and dug out again on the next day. (See No. 498.)

539 765 276 574 43 **506. Tuui tae fakakava:** Visiting mourners without kava.

In visits to the friends and relatives of a person recently deceased it is customary to take gifts to the mourners, particularly to present them with

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kava. A visit without kava would lack the most important article which the comforters should take. This phrase indicates a visit unaccompanied by the "real thing," that which is the real substance of the ceremony. Generally used of that which appears all right but is more or less of a hollow pretence. 539 765 296 574 431

507. Vai kauaki: Water (for) dying man. 539 763

Used of that which is given to a dying man to satisfy any longing he may have. If he wants a drink of water give it to him. Literally it refers to giving the dying whatever they may want when it is obvious that nothing can do any good or any harm and that by satisfying any desire expressed at such a time the last moments may be made happier. We have also seen the phrase in a context that seemed to imply that the draught of water was life-giving; but probably the idea is that it restored the spirits of the dying man without giving him any real chance of life. Comforting, soothing. [271]

WRONG-DOING; RETRIBUTION

508. E lavea ae taka nofo i he ngaue ae taka tuu: The good will be wounded by the conduct of the bad; wrong-doing which involves the innocent as well as the guilty in punishment. 539 183

Taka nofo and *taka tuu*, which mean literally, "he who sits" and "he who stands," perhaps get their meanings of good and bad, as applied to conduct, from the idea of one who sits quietly attending to his own business, and of one who must always be up and gadding round into mischief. Perhaps they refer primarily to the behavior proper to the kava ring where all should sit except when it is necessary to get up to perform some office connected with the ceremony.

509. Faifaimalie, a nunua: Retribution coming on slowly.

Although the retribution of evil deeds seems to tarry, yet come it will.

510. Jii pe lele ae kaihaa kae fai: The thief's run is but short, but it is done.

If a thief is discovered he must make a bolt. Even if he is unable to run far and is soon caught he may as well make a dash for it and try to get away. Not a very successful attempt, but still a try.

511. Kaihaa tangi tauloto: A thief who wants to *touloto*. 539 482 685

Tauloto is to carry two burdens or baskets slung on the ends of a stick over the shoulder. If a man desires to steal he will be well advised to limit his depredations to what can easily be comprised in a single bundle and carried without difficulty. If he takes so much that he has to make up two bundles and carry them at the ends of a stick his chances of evading discovery and capture are much lessened. Not only so, but if caught he is much more likely to be forgiven if he is getting off with a swag of moderate size. If you are out for theft there is no sense in over-doing it.

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539 578 **512. Mala fai e tangata:** Curse that man makes.

A curse that does not come from the unseen powers but is the fault of man himself.

539 183 **513. Muimui a nunua:** Retribution following after.

This is the pessimistic statement that sorrow is following on the heels of men.

539 681 183 **514. Toka moe kafa:** Lying with cord, lying down bound.

One who is not lying down because he wants to but because he is a bound prisoner and can not do otherwise. It may be translated also, "Existing with cord, existing bound," but the idea is precisely the same of a prisoner in bonds. So generally of a person who must pursue a certain course of action, of things that must of necessity be done.

COMMON PEOPLE

539 466 461 **515. Fai faka-fatongia:** Doing compulsory task fashion.

The *fatongia* was the forced service exacted from the people by the chiefs. This indicates a job that one does not set about whole-heartedly because he wishes to do it; but one which he does unwillingly and only because he must. "Government stroke."

539 565 829 571 **516. Fiemua e tua ki mua:** The commoner trying to outwit (a) chief.

The chiefs were the repositories of wisdom and knowledge: the commoners lacked their intelligence and experience. Consequently for a commoner to attempt to get the better of a chief was a mark of foolish presumption. So used generally of a man trying to outwit one wiser than himself, of an inferior attempting to get the better of his superior.

539 554 183 **517. Ha fie matai koia e tangenge:** A would-be craftsman that (that is) large.

Used in rebuke for forwardness, presumption. The nuance of the Tongan phrase is not greatly different from some such English colloquialism as, "Well, that's a pretty tall order." "You certainly have got some hide."

539 565 431 **518. Jii kae ha:** Small but appearing.

Used of one who wishes to appear to the chiefs or people but has very little that he can take as a present. Notwithstanding the insignificance of his offering he takes and presents it and achieves the prominence that he desires.

539 726 565 411 **519. Kai foto a tua:** Commoner eating sting ray's tail, or as we should say in English, making cannon fodder of himself.

The tail of the sting ray was used to tip the spears, and the sense is that of the commoner braving all the dangers of war, with the further

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undemocratic understanding that however brave he may show himself he is nevertheless but a commoner. There is a couplet which runs as follows:

Tangi a tua ke tau ke toa,
Kae toatoa toc tua pe.

Which, somewhat freely translated runs:

A commoner wanting to be a great warrior,
But with all his courage remaining but a commoner.

520. Lolinga a motu: Habit of islet.

The word *motu*, translated islet, refers to the smaller islands scattered about the Tongan group. Although the largest island is only about twenty-five miles long the word *motu* is not used of it nor in general of the other more important centers of population. Different sections of Tongan population do not show the variation in manner and outlook that separates extreme rusticity from extreme "towniness" in white men's countries, but the manner in which the out-of-the-way islander does things excites something of the same half-contemptuous tolerance in the man accustomed to places where the elite of Tongan society are centered, as the country man does in the city man. All such comparisons as these, however, are vastly in favor of the Tongan over the European. In all places courteous good-breeding is the rule, and the foreigner's ignorant blunders are passed over with bland indifference.

521. Ngu a tua: Muttering of commoner.

A commoner may be vexed at something and complain but his anger is little regarded because of his social inferiority and consequent powerlessness. Another possible rendering is, "power or might of a commoner," but the application would be much the same as above. (See No. 522.)

522. Ngungulu a feiumu: Grumbling of cook.

Very similar to No. 521. A no account man like a cook may do a lot of grumbling but all the same he has to do what he is told and get about his job whether he likes it or not.

523. Ngutu tamulea: Officious mouth.

Used of a commoner officiously expressing his opinion in the affairs of chiefs, or generally of one putting in his say where it is not wanted.

524. Tala be i tua mamao: Report far outside; that is, the reports and conjectures of those who are far from the center of things where only the truth is to be discovered.

The compounds of the chiefs were fenced and only the *matapules* and the chosen few could have access to the councils of the great lords, therefore the conjectures of the rank and file outside the fence were likely to be far from the truth. The word *tua*, translated above "outside" is also used of the common people and "*tua mamao*" may mean "common people far down the social scale" rather than "far outside." In either case the meaning is the same; the unreliable reports circulated in the conversation of those who have no means of knowing the truth.

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539 554 627 **525. Tonuhia ae faiekina:** The innocence of the oppressed, or the oppressed is innocent.

This takes a very pessimistic view of the course that justice is apt to run when dealing with the poor and unfriended. The poor man is in the right, but what then? He has none to take his part.

539 565 **526. Tua fehui ua:** Commoner asking twice.

It is not good form for a commoner to question a chief about the subject of his conversation. Should a commoner question a chief and the latter take no notice of the inquiry the commoner would lay himself open to the rebuke of this phrase if he repeated his interrogation.

539 829 **527. Tua tala matangi:** Commoner telling wind.

Baker renders the phrase: "One forward with his opinion of the wind, though among sailors."

539 565 **528. Tua tangata kae eiki fekau:** The man a commoner but the bidding (of) a chief.

This means that one chief has sent a messenger to another chief bidding him do something. Although the herald is a man of no account yet chief number two has to take notice of his message because it comes from lord number one.

539 565 829 **529. Tuki a tua:** Striking of commoner.

This striking is not that done with the fist or a club. It is the impinging of speech on one's mental processes. The common people are not well informed or skilled in affairs, and the phrase indicates the confusing of counsel by the unwise suggestions and ill-founded speculations of the uninstructed multitude.

539 183 [137] [262] [283] **530. Vale ngau fau:** Fool chewing hibiscus (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*); a fool who chews hibiscus.

Term of abuse, but it is not apparent why chewing the hibiscus should be chosen as a special mark of folly, except that the plant is useless as food. The bark of the hibiscus is frequently used as a lashing and is often torn from the branch with the teeth to be utilized in this way. It is possible that the expression may have arisen as a designation of those who had to perform menial tasks: but we have no information on this matter.

CHIEFS

539 565 **531. Aoao ki majijiva:** Useful to poor; according to Baker "kind, thoughtful to the poor."

The care of the chiefs and provision of clothing, bedding and food for them was a heavy tax on the people. This phrase signifies primarily a chief who was easy to get along with: who was satisfied with whatever was at hand.

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532. Eiki pea oi: Chief and striving. 539 565 829 183

The expression refers to a chief who, although he is a chief and able to enjoy his rank in safety and affluence, is not satisfied and sets on foot schemes by which he hopes to gain more. The upshot of his endeavors is the loss of what he had. Generally of a man who is not contented with the prosperity he has, will not leave well alone, and who through his discontented strivings comes off worse than he was before.

533. Hau ki nima: Lord to (by) hand. 539 565 557

Refers primarily to those chiefs who enjoyed great prestige not by right of birth but by right of conquest. Used generally of those who acquire privilege or status by violence.

534. Hau pea kui: King and blind. 539 643 829

Used of one who is a king but is regardless of the interests of his people. Especially it is employed of one who before his elevation to such high rank manifested good qualities that marked him as one fit for rule, but on succeeding to kingship changed to harshness and incapacity to win his people's affections. Not unlike Tacitus' "Fully capable of rule if he had never ruled."

535. Hongea moe houeiki: Enduring famine with the chiefs. 539 565 622 731 511

The chiefs were the great reservoirs into which flowed the food and wealth of the country; it was indeed tabu to eat the more valued kinds of food without first presenting the chiefs with their proper share. In times of scarcity the rank and file came off very badly but those who had the good fortune to be closely associated with the great chiefs were in the way of getting a share of whatever sustenance the country afforded. (Compare No. 544.)

536. Koe lau ia he koe tala ki he tui: That's talk. What, is it telling the king? 539 578 643

Used derisively by one man to another who threatens to report his conduct to a third person. Much like, "Pooh, what do I care if you do tell so-and-so? Is he the king that I should mind him?" (See No. 569.)

537. Lea hange ha Pelehake: Speak like a Pelehake. 539 565 622 195 537

The Pelehake is one of the great chiefly houses of Eastern Tongatabu. We have not discovered whether the Pelehake had any special connection with ceremonial or other speech or whether this proverb refers to the fact that the chiefs generally were the great repositories of information about correct and graceful language and ceremony. The phrase means to speak well, with well-modulated resonant voice and forceful, graceful diction.

538. Oku hiki mai pe ho mua vala ka koe Haafeva pe koe: The front of your *vala* is lifted but you are only a Haafeva man. 539 565 554 291

This refers to the chiefly *vala* or dress, called *vakai*, which consists of a very large piece of native cloth wrapped in several thicknesses round

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539 565 554 291 the waist, and with the outside end rather high up on the left side of the front of the body. This whole dress covers the body much further up than does the ordinary *vala* or waist-cloth. It is said that a foreigner called Fauolo went to live in the island of Haafeva in Haapai and that his daughter bore a son to a chief belonging to the Tui Tonga's family. A child who is chiefly on one side only is said to be *ila, ila* to, or of, such a chief. Fauolo's grandson gave himself the airs of a great chief, and this phrase is the rebuke administered to him by chiefs whose birth was noble on both sides. The expression may be used generally as a rebuff to those who wish to pass themselves off as something greater than they really are but is especially the taunt of chiefs whose blood is chiefly on both the father's and the mother's side to chiefs whose birth is plebeian on one side.

539 642 578 **539. Pule faaoa:** Rule violently seized.

Scarcely perhaps to be classed strictly with proverbial expressions. It means authority which has been usurped, or grasped by the strong hand.

539 622 565 626 **540. Talafono a Pakava:** Instructions of Bakava.

Bakava was a Fijian chief who used to give instructions to his people that they must not eat the *tava* (*Pometia pinnata*), a pleasantly flavored edible fruit, while he held himself exempted from his own "tabu," and freely plucked and ate the forbidden fruit. This expression is applied to a chief who prohibits to his people a privilege which he himself enjoys.

THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

643 178 [The Tui Kanokupolu is a great chief of Western Tongatabu into whose hands regal power was more and more passing with the decline of the Tui Tonga. The birth of several notable warriors and statesmen into this family and the trend of events after the introduction of Christianity have resulted in placing the present constitutional monarchy of the whole Tongan group in the hands of this house. The title of the King or Queen of Tonga is now Tui Kanokupolu.]

539 643 644 431 103 **541. Faka-Pangai:** Pangai fashion.

Pangai is the name of the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu and there are a number of localities scattered through the group which bear this name on account of their association with the Tui Kanokupolu. When presenting food to the Tui Kanokupolu the donors would desire to make their gifts seemly and consonant with the dignity of the great chief. Small gifts, therefore, would be wrapped up in large coverings and placed in capacious baskets. The expression, which is confined to gifts of food, is "applied to small quantities of food put into large baskets." (Baker.)

539 643 644 103 183 521 **542. Koe moa kehe oku uua i Pangai:** It's a different cock that is crowing in Pangai.

Pangai is the name of the place where the Tui Kanokupolu holds his court and has become the proper name of several localities in the Tongan

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group, certainly in many instances, and probably in all, through association with the Tui Kanokupolu. The expression indicates one who has no right to the privilege of speaking in the royal *malae*, or meeting ground. The expression is used, as would be a similar phrase in English, as a rebuke to one who speaks where it would be more seemly for him to keep silent.

543. Laujii faka-Hihifo: Narrow in the western way.

Hihifo, meaning literally the point where the sun sets, is the general name given to the western districts of the various islands. Here the district indicated is the western part of Tongatabu, which is narrow, and whose circumscribed area one might naturally expect to find reflected in a paucity of provisions. It is the seat of the great Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship, and its people by a wise use of their resources never fail to set forth a ceremony or banquet with true chiefly munificence. The phrase is used of those who by their prudence overcome the niggardliness of nature.

544. Nonofo mo Tukuaho kae fie kai gako: Living with Tukuaho yet in want of rich food (literally fat).

This is a very unlikely contingency, for Tukuaho, one of the Tui Kanokupolu who reigned at the close of the 18th century, was a great chief and those in close contact with him would be sure to be well supplied with the best food that the country could furnish. See No. 535 for a similar expression of the belief that the vicinity of the great chiefs was the place to find the best provisions that the country afforded.

545. Oua e tangi ke tatau Don't desire to be equal
Naa ita a Taufaahau: Lest Taufaahau be angry.

Evidently of recent origin, as the use of the name Taufaahau began with the famous George Tupou I, whose name it was. The sense is, smaller folk should not try to make themselves the equals of such a mighty chief.

THE TUI TONGA

[The Tui Tonga and his house were the pinnacles of Tongan nobility, claiming descent from the gods. The sister of the Tui Tonga was the Tui Tonga Fefine, Female Tui Tonga, and had rank superior even to the Tui Tonga himself. Since a Female Tui Tonga who was sister of the reigning Tui Tonga did not lose her rank if her brother pre-deceased her, but held it till her own death, the Female Tui Tonga was either aunt or sister to the contemporary Tui Tonga. The first child of the Female Tui Tonga by one of two special chiefs was the topmost pinnacle of Tongan nobility, particularly if a daughter. This first born child was called the Tamaha. Should a son be born to the Female Tui Tonga and afterwards a daughter it would seem that the daughter was the Tamaha. There appears however to be a little laxity in the use of this title. The actual power of the Tui Tonga has evidently been declining for centuries, and passing more and

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643 644 565 178 more into the hands of great lords, notably the Tui Kanokupolu of Western Tongatabu. The decline of prestige which inevitably follows sooner or later on that of real power was already apparent before the coming of the Europeans and Christianity hastened the political changes which have almost completed the process.]

539 576 554 276 **546. Hala o Taanea:** Way of Taanea.

This is an expression used by one in claiming for himself, not arrogantly but almost apologetically, a place or right from which he has been formerly debarred. Different tales are told of the origin of the phrase. One account says that there was a great warrior called Taanea who had no seat in the kava ring until at last he went to a kava ring and with the customary word of apology, much like the English "Excuse me," merely sat down in the circle. Another account refers the name Taanea not to a man but to the place Taanea in Vavau. According to this story a Tui Tonga who was living in Vavau was one day being borne along in his litter and came to a place where a man named Fukofuka was digging. Fukofuka left his work and took a place among the Tui Tonga's bearers and went right on without a change till the party reached the cemetery at Taanea. The Tui Tonga then thanked him for keeping so long at this task without a rest and told him to run, and that he could have as much land as he ran round without stopping. Fukofuka, notwithstanding his previous labors, completed the circuit of a large piece of land which the Tui Tonga duly gave him. This is said to be the reason that the chief Vahai holds Taanea, for Fukofuka belongs to a younger branch of the Vahai family. Fukofuka, apparently when he returned from his run, found the Tui Tonga drinking kava and was given by him a seat in the upper part of the circle (*alofi*). Fukofuka, with the appropriate word of apology, passed to his place. So anyone going to a place or claiming a privilege to which he is not strictly entitled may say "Way of Taanea," as a sort of apology.

539 565 554 555 [103] **547. Ka i Mua:** Speaking in Mua.

Applied to one who is expert in the procedure of ceremonies, dances, and other functions. He is a man of sufficiently chiefly rank to be among the important people in the chiefly town of Mua, a name most often used for the important village in Eastern Tongatabu associated with the Tui Tonga, but which is also a name of the chief town in a country. Applied generally to one who is very skillful in anything; it is only to be expected that so-and-so should be proficient.

539 644 535 276 **548. Nofo i he api Moli kae fu hala:** Living in the compound called Moli yet clapping wrongly.

The compound called Moli was a residence of the Tui Tonga and was of course a center for the practising of dances and for all the ceremonial connected with the kava and such matters. In some dances time is kept by clapping the hands, and in kava drinking the person whose name is called to receive the cup that has just been filled claps his hands to indicate his position. Clapping, therefore, is used in this expression as a type

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of the general behavior and ceremonial connected with dances, kava, and other matters whose chief center and exposition is in the Tui Tonga's court. To live in the midst of opportunity and yet to obtain little advantage from it. 539 644 276 535

549. Pulu e tuku: Easy with the rope; let down gently. 539

The *tuku* is in this instance the rope with which the slab was lowered on to the top of a vault. It is said that the man whose duty it was to arrange the body of a Tui Tonga in the vault would often try to steal one of the fine mats wound round the dead chief's body. To be able the better to accomplish this purpose he would endeavor to get one of his friends on the end of the rope with which the stone cover was lowered over the grave, and would adjure him to let down slowly. If he were shut in the grave he would have to stay there and die, as the vault could not be opened to let him out without imperilling the life of the new Tui Tonga who had just succeeded. 643 764

We have heard this phrase repeated with the addition "that I may live"; "Let down gently that I may live," which looks as though at one period the man who descended into the vault ran some danger of being shut in even without wasting time down below trying to steal valuables from the body of the chief. One might hazard the conjecture that it marks a transition from a period when the man who went down into the grave with the Tui Tonga always stayed there and that the story of the mat stealing is an invention of later times. In front of a row of Langis, or Tui Tonga vaults in Mua, Tongatabu, is a row of smaller vaults which are said to be the escorts to the larger Tui Tonga graves to which they are contiguous. It is stated that these vaults contain the bodies of the *matapules* of the Tui Tonga, though there is no statement that the *matapules* were made eligible for the grave for the special purpose of occupying their proper official position in the entourage of their dead chiefs. Sometimes the expression is enlarged, *Pulu ho tuku tata ho vae*, Let go gently with your rope, dig in your feet. [644]

Proverbially the expression means to go slowly and give one a chance of escape.

550. Sani Tungua: Tungua glory. 539

The island of Tungua, in the Haapai group, although it is tiny and out of the way, was yet the residence of the Tamaha, the child of the Female Tui Tonga the peak of Tongan nobility. The Female Tui Tonga also seems to have spent much time there. One of the two chiefs who were the usual mates for the Female Tui Tonga holds this island as part of his estates and the modern holders of the title have frequently resided there. All this chiefliness clinging about the islet of Tungua is the boast of its people but the expression "*Sani Tungua*," rather strangely, is used ironically of one who boasts of what he will do for another and what he will give to him but who has not the material backing to make good his words. The idea evidently is that the resources of the little island are not commensurate with its chiefly pretensions. 644 539 183 829

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539 644 183 **551. Tutungia a hulu Tungua:** Shrivelling of Tungua leaf.

A thing that is past its prime or damaged, but yet valued. Tungua was a residence of the great chief women, the Female Tui Tonga, and the Tamaha. The expression is said to have originated in the fact that there was once a Female Tui Tonga who suffered from some facial disfigurement. She apparently is the shrivelled Tungua leaf. Whatever misfortune might befall so great a personage she was still the Female Tui Tonga, and so to be regarded with reverence.

539 571 643 644 **552. Tuanaki Auka:** Depending on Auka.

Tradition says that Auka was one of the men in close attendance upon the Tui Tonga, Telea. On account of a wrong committed by Talafaiva, the wife of Telea, Auka was bidden by his royal master to take her and kill her. Auka performed the Tui Tonga's bidding to the letter, much to the chagrin of the latter, who loved Talafaiva dearly and who supposed that Auka knew his heart sufficiently well to understand that he did not really desire his harsh order to be carried out. Hence a vain confidence, to depend on one who does not come up to expectation.

539 643 648 173 **553. Vete fakafutuna:** Plunder like the Futunans, that is, to plunder completely, strip of everything.

The Tui Tonga, Kauulufonuafekai (16th century?) the great voyager and warrior, went in pursuit of the two men, Tamajia and Malofafa, who had murdered his father Takalaua, the previous Tui Tonga. Kauulufonuafekai and his brothers pursued the murderers from island to island, at length coming up with them in Futuna in the New Hebrides. A battle followed after which the Tongans withdrew to a small island called Alofa, but by a misadvertence Latu-toevave, the youngest brother of the Tui Tonga, was left behind on the island where the battle was fought. The Futunans did not kill him but by his advice did obeisance on the following day to the victorious Kauulufonuafekai. Peace was made between Futuna and the Tongans and the Tui Tonga, in recognition of the kinduess of his late foes in sparing the life of his brother, ceded to them the right to take for their own any Tongan boat that might touch at their shores, and all that it contained, stipulating only that the people should in no way be molested. This right has been exercised by the people of Futuna and has apparently been carried out so thoroughly as to pass into a proverb.

(Compare the Samoan word *faatafuna*, to lay waste. Possibly *tafuna* became *fatuna* by metathesis and then through misunderstanding was altered to *futuna*, the name of the island.)

KAVA

276 [137] 276 576 565 554 [The dried root of the kava (*Piper methisticum*) is ground and well mixed with water. The dregs of solid root are strained out and the infusion drunk. It is the indispensable adjunct of ceremonies, and even a party of friends sitting together do not drink kava without a considerable amount of formality. Proper precedence in the kava circle is most carefully observed. A chief's rank is accurately indicated not only by his position in the ring but also by the order in which he is served.]

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554. Fele a toua: *Toua* is widely scattered, that is, a multitude in the *toua*. 539 276 554

The *toua* (pronounced to-wa) are those who sit where the kava is prepared in a kava ceremony; they are, for the most part, people of no rank and do not drink the kava, that privilege being reserved for their superiors in the *alofi*, or chiefly circle. This expression then indicates a big crowd of people who do not count for much.

555. Fufu mo kokohu: Clapping (the hollowed hands) and dust rising. 539 276

When there is a shortage of kava the people are constrained to use the little rootlets projecting from the thick part of the main root which in times of plenty they would throw away. To cleanse these rootlets of adhering earth they are rubbed in the hands, then held in the hollow of one hand while the other hand is beaten down on top of them, thus causing dust to arise. This expression is used in a deprecating way by a man who has only a small piece of kava to offer to his friends, and indicates that with this small piece he is completely at the end of his resources.

556. Molumalu faka-fono: Good appearances, *fono* fashion.

The *fono* is the food served with the kava. The distribution of food with kava is frequently a mere formality to comply with ceremonial requirements, and the little food given out is seldom eaten. The phrase indicates therefore appearances that are only appearances without any solid backing of substance. [264] [576]

557. Nofo e fonoŋa kae eke kava: The visitors having no share, but asking for kava; or perhaps more intelligibly, asking for kava, but the visitors having no share in it (literally, the visitors sitting, that is, just sitting quiet without part or lot in what is going on). 539 276 574

If guests arrive at one's house it is proper to prepare kava to greet them. This phrase indicates one who should ask for and obtain kava but then takes it off and uses it for some other purpose, neglecting the obvious duty of polite hospitality of preparing the beverage to greet his visitors.

WAR

558. Fakalali pakola: Like drum of prisoners of war, that is, the peculiar beating of the drum indicating that prisoners had been taken. 539 727 266

Cannibalism was only sporadic in Tonga, and never widespread. The word *pakola* is of Fijian introduction, and in Fiji indicated prisoners of war designed for the oven. Baker considers it an introduced word from Fiji, used in a low way for "Die, you wretches." In Fiji, therefore, the *pakola* drum would seem to indicate that the butcher was about to call, but such a meaning can never have been general in Tonga. [177] [192]

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539 181 **559. Fakatoa tele:** Do-or-die courage, or rather, like a do-or-die hero.

Meaning and application follow closely the English.

539 726 181 **559a. Fakate a Halia:** Marshalling of Halia.

Used of a numerous crowd of people who, in spite of their numbers, are inefficient and unable to carry out the work for which they were assembled. It is said that the phrase originated with certain fighting at Halia, in the island of Foa, in Haapai. One of the armies engaged was large but was defeated by its less numerous antagonists.

539 183 701 **560. Kuo totoa hono nima:** His hand is bloody.

The warrior who has slain one man is thereby incited to further warlike deeds. Generally of the encouragement to further effort which is given by initial successes.

539 721 183 **561. Longolongo ai valu:** Omen of war.

Used with much the same meaning and range of application as the English "Calm before the storm." The last two words of this phrase are Fijian, and it is possible that the whole phrase may have been brought from Fiji, and the Fijian *rongorongo* modified in the usual way to *longolongo*. *Rongorongo* is the same word, however, as the Tongan *longolongo*.

539 726 571 **562. Malanga fai i he ate:** Speech made in the *ate*.
Malanga fai mei he ate: Speech made from the *ate*.

The *ate* is a shrub. The expression indicates being too late in speaking about a thing, or in preferring a request.

The story is that in the fighting of about a hundred years ago one of the regiments from the east of Tongatabu, the Pelehake regiment, dug a great trench in the western part of the island, with the object, it is said, of cutting off the western district from the remainder of Tongatabu. They worked hard and performed prodigies of labor during the night and at about daybreak bathed and rested. The great Vahai, the most formidable of their opponents, happened to sail along in his canoe near to the spot where they had bathed, and noticed the oily appearance of the water, due to the washing of the warriors' heads, and the marks where clay had been turned up (clay being the detergent used by the bathers). Vahai could see by these signs that a great number of people had bathed and guessed at once that so numerous a body of men could be nothing but an army. Landing with his own men to investigate the matter he found the Pelehake people all asleep and slew them. Among the doomed host was one warrior, evidently a fighter of renown, who was standing upright with his eyes open. Vahai thought him awake but in reality he was fast asleep. Vahai pierced him with his spear and the sleeper, suddenly awaked, jumped aside into the bushes *(ate)* and begged for his life, but in vain. He was slain with his companions. Hence this expression indicates an unavailing petition, a request that is made too late.

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563. Mata ki vae: Face to foot, that is, one who is face from head to foot, whose whole body is skillful and alert. 539 701

Applied particularly to the warrior who is not only bold and able in the use of his weapons but is also fleet-footed and able to escape by flight when flight is necessary. Used generally of the man who is capable and active in every direction. 554 826

564. Ngungu tau: Sounding war. 539

Applied primarily to the beating of the native drum for war. There were different ways of beating for different occasions. The war beat evidently produced a very full clear note, and *ngungu tau* has come to mean the note of the drum when it is specially resonant. Such a sound is today regarded as an omen that somebody will die; possibly a reminiscence from the real war beat which was a call to death. Like No. 308 this is used proverbially of signs that something is going to happen. 721 534

565. Pona-tuu: The exact literal translation is uncertain. It is perhaps Standing death-blow. 539 726

The thing indicated is the last effort of a warrior who seeks to slay a foe in the instant of his own fall. A great champion (*toa*) was regularly accompanied by a companion (*hoa*, comrade, *hoa-tau*, comrade in war), who was himself a doughty warrior, the friend of the greater champion in peace and his close attendant in battle. In a struggle between two champions their respective companions assisted them by attacking their adversaries from behind, each champion thus having two enemies to attend to. Should it become manifest to one of the champions that he must be overcome he would strive with his last effort to strike backwards and kill his opponent's companion as he himself fell. This last backward stroke was the *pona-tuu*. Applied generally to the final, supreme effort. 572

566. Popoto faka-Tongatapu: Tongatabu reconciliation. 539

Tongatabu was a land of war, and it was difficult to know whether a reconciliation were genuine or deceptive. 728

567. Ta e ta kae tapa e tapa: The strikers strike and the reserves are in reserve. 539 726

It was the business of the reserves to shout and tell who were slain. The meaning of the phrase appears to be, everybody doing his own job, both those whose business is the actual fighting and those whose function it is to report the progress of the battle. 701

568. Ta e toa tuu e toa: A champion struck down, a champion standing.

This means that after one great warrior is slain another steps forth to oppose the foe. The word for warrior, *To'a*, differs from the word for the tree, *toa*, (*Casuarina equisetofolia*) only in having the glottal stop, and the phrase is sometimes given the meaning that after one casuarina tree is 137 824

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539 726 701 824 [137] cut down another grows up. In either case the reference is to the same thing, the labors and struggles of one mighty man who has fallen are taken up by another. This proverb appears in a couplet, "*Ta e tea tuu e toa, Iloga he vale bea hola.*" "A champion has fallen, a champion stands, let him who is unskilled flee."

569. Tala pea taki mai ha tau: Tell and bring an army.

539 571 Like number 536 a derisive retort to one who threatens to report one's conduct. Tell and bring an army to back up your censure. What difference is it going to make if you do tell so-and-so? Is there going to be an army sent to punish me? The same idea is expressed also by *Tala pea e fai ha tau:* Tell, and is there going to be a war?

539 721 571 183 **570. Tata langovaka:** Striking compensation, that is, fighting again to compensate for a previous defeat.

One will use his utmost endeavors to make good the earlier defeat. Used generally of putting forth one's full effort so as to compensate for a previous failure.

539 725 183 **571. Tau kovi pea kovi hono toi:** Bad fighting and bad hiding.

A skillful leader may make good the deficiency in numbers of his troops by a wise use of cover. This indicates a state of things that was bad enough in the beginning and was not remedied by judicious management.

539 726 194 **572. Tofi-kulu:** Head splitting; a knock-out blow.

Used of a final, decisive stroke, an unanswerable argument. The word *kulu*, head, is interesting as showing the initial *k* which has been replaced in the ordinary form of the word by the glottal stop.

539 726 461 183 **573. Tulituli ta:** Chasing up (the) stroke.

An expression from warfare, indicating one who is pursuing a fleeing foe and is just about within striking distance. Applied to one who is putting forth all his effort to accomplish something which he is on the point of bringing off.

539 726 276 554 **574. Vava faka-Vaipoa:** Rejoicing Vaipoa-like.

Vaipoa is a village in Vavau. The phrase is applied to joyful expectations that are not realized. The expression is said to have originated with a great warrior named Mahina who lived in Vaipoa. It was customary to hold a kava ceremony on the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the braves would boast, or pledge themselves to valiant action. It was not unusual for a warrior to boast that he would kill the first foe that should be slain. This of course pledged him to rush foremost into the thick of the battle. Occasionally the chief of the army would give to the champion who pledged himself to such an undertaking the most important cup of kava, in this case the first, the chief's own. On one occasion Mahina with his fellows of Vaipoa was on a warlike expedition and at the kava preceding the battle Mahina pledged himself to slay the first of the enemy

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and was given the principal cup by the commander-in-chief. The army raised a shout of joy on hearing the pledge of Mahina, regarding the undertaking of so noted a warrior as a thing already as good as done, but when the battle was joined the honor of first blood fell to another. The chief on being told that Vaipoa had not succeeded in performing his vaunt, remarked in reference to the earlier confident applause of the hero's admirers, "That was Vaipoa rejoicing." 539 726 276 554

575. Ta ae uluafi: Slay the first foe; the head of battle. 539 726

Ulu-afi seems to mean literally the head of fire, and is a term regularly used of the first man killed in battle. To kill the first foe is used of overcoming initial difficulties, securing a first success, in much the same way as we speak of drawing first blood.

576. He oku puli ae kava i Atata? Is the kava in Atata lost to view, or forgotten? 539 726 276 554

Atata is a small island just off the coast of western Tongatabu. Just before engaging in battle it was the practice to hold a kava ceremony at which the first cup was sometimes given to the warrior who pledged himself to be the first to slay one of the enemy. The first slain was called by a special name, *uluafi*, which apparently means literally "head of fire." On the occasion commemorated in this expression the kava before battle was drunk on the island of Atata, the first cup being duly claimed and drunk by a certain brave. When the battle was joined and the first of the enemy slain the commanding chief asked who had struck him down, when the warrior who had taken the pledge of the first cup answered, "Is the kava in Atata forgotten?" thus proudly asserting that he who had pledged himself in the kava was of course the one who had performed the feat.

SPORTS AND GAMES

LAFO

[*Lafo* is a game played by throwing large beans or disks of coconut-shell along a mat, the object being to make the disk stand as close as possible to the edge of the mat. The mat is bolstered up along the sides so as to present a concave surface. Usually it is played by teams of two, a pair of opponents sitting together at each end; but there was a form of the game in which the single men were replaced by groups of five, thus making teams of ten—two groups of five each at either end. In this form of the game the leaders of the fives sat at the ends of the mat two pairs facing each other, while the remaining parties of four sat round the corners, at the sides of the mat, and turned slightly aslant so as to face along the mat. There were five pieces to throw, and in the game where there were five men instead of one, each man had but one piece; in the form played by teams of two each man throws five pieces. Opponents throw alternately. The score is reckoned from six to ten, these five points constituting an *ulu*, game, and the winning side is that which scores the greater number out of five *ulus*. In the case of the sides being equal with two *ulus* each the fifth game is scored from one to ten, thus having ten points. *Lafo* is a fine game, but little played now.] 524

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539 524 183 555 **577. Aufua a Tefuli:** Coming up the side of Tefuli.

This is an expression from the game of *lafo*, in which Tefuli was a past master. The expression indicates that which is excellent, manifests wonderful skill. Tefuli was a man of no particular rank who lived in Feletoa with the chief Ulukalala, probably the Ulukalala (Finau) who was Mariner's friend. Tefuli was extraordinarily skillful at *lafo* and could at will make the pieces go to the very edge of the mat and even project slightly over the edge without falling. It is related of him that on one occasion he visited Tongatabu and went to Mua, and played there at *lafo* with one of the Tui Tonga family as his partner. The match was very close, each side having scored two games, and in the fifth game, the final one, they were equal within one point of the game. In the final throw all of Tefuli's pieces went over the edge of the mat, while his opponent's stood in good scoring positions from which it was practically impossible to dislodge them, until Tefuli's last throw, when he made his piece slide along the edge of the mat, round his opponent's pieces, and balance itself delicately overhanging the edge, an almost impossible feat. Only after this exploit did it become known that the wonderful player was none other than Tefuli. For this exploit he received gifts and land. Before the final throw his partner had promised him that if he did not succeed with it he would put him to death. The phrase has accordingly a proverbial application in addition to the accomplishment of the seemingly impossible, namely that in which it is death to fail.

539 524 **578. Fua tuku ulu:** Measure concluding game (*ulu*).

An expression from *lafo*. In the event of a dispute arising as to which of two pieces is nearer to the mark it may be agreed that the distance be measured, and the game *(ulu)* decided straightway by that measure, quite irrespective of the points which each side had already scored. It may even happen that the game be won in this way although there are other pieces nearer to the edge of the mat than the two over which the discussion arose. Used of a decision or judgment which is to close dispute, is to be final.

579. Kai pe ae toekai: The *toekai* naturally scores.

In *lafo* the man who threw last was called *toekai* (this was also the name of one of the pieces), and the man who threw first was called *tuku-mua* (also the name of a piece). The *toekai*, having the last shot, had the best chance of scoring, and with players evenly matched almost invariably did score. In general the phrase indicates the success of one who is most advantageously placed; it goes without saying that such an one will be the successful party.

539 524 576 565 554 **580. Mata lafo lau kai:** Looking on at *lafo* counting score.

It is a piece of unforgiveable presumption for the onlookers to call out the score. *Lafo* was preeminently a chiefs' game and players would usually be of superior rank to the spectators. It is said that in earlier days a man might be struck down for venturing to utter the score aloud if he were not playing himself. Much like the English "Mind your own business."

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581. Nai huni: Sparing oil-rag. A *lafo* term. 539 524 183

The *huni* is a small piece of cloth on to which oil was poured to rub on the pieces to make them run smoothly. A man may use the oil very sparingly for fear of making his piece too greasy, thus causing them to travel too easily and too far. This expression is applied to one who, afraid of over-doing the oil, has overdone his caution with the upshot that his piece has come short. Used of one who is cautious and sparing in the use of his material and has thereby failed in that at which he aimed.

582. Olo faka-lafo-koa: Deceit, device, after the manner of *lafo-koa;* allurement by strategem (Baker). 539 524 525

Lafo-koa is a game of *lafo* played for stakes. The players make remarks to each other to put their opponents off their game, though it is against the rules to do this to a man as he is actually about to throw. This "barracking" is common to all games of *lafo* but probably there would be more all round keenness where stakes were involved. As applied generally the idea of the expression seems to be that just as one may think of something clever to say to hamper an opponent's play, or perhaps think of some clever device to bring off a successful throw, so may he invent some ingenious method of accomplishing his purpose whatever it may be.

583. Oua te ke mata-fala ua: Don't be at two ends of the mat. 539 524

A *lafo* expression. In a game with two on each side the pair of opponents sitting together at each end of the mat adjust differences, discuss and decide which is the scoring piece. When the game is played by groups of five, one of each of these fives, namely the one called the *toekai* who throws last, performs the offices of umpire in consultation with the *toekai* of the opposing side who sits next to him. The *toekai* sit facing each other at the ends of the mat while the rest of the teams sit around the corner at the side. This phrase is a rebuke to a man who wishes to interfere in the consultations and decisions of the players at the opposite end of the mat. Generally, to mind one's own business. [183]

584. To to motua paanga: Falling, falling large piece.

The reference is to the large piece, in the game of *lafo*, falling upon and sweeping from the mat the smaller pieces. One large piece may sweep from the mat several of the smaller pieces. One who is strong brushing aside all the opposition of even a number of puny adversaries. [578]

585. Va kaunahu: Edge of *nahu* space.

The edge of the mat in *lafo* used to be raised by bolstering up with a bed of *nahu*, a sort of fern. The *kaunahu, nahu* edge, therefore, is the raised cushion along the side of the mat which skillful players are able to use with great effect. The space, interval, road, of the *nahu* edge is a difficult shot which a good player can bring off by using the raised sides of the mat. Used generally of that which is difficult but not impossible.

586. Va puna: Jumping distance.

A *lafo* expression indicating that the pieces of two opponents are close together but not touching, so that one player is able to throw a second

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539 524 piece and knock his opponent's piece off the mat, make it jump off the mat, without disturbing his own first piece. If this move is brought off successfully the man who makes it will have two pieces of his own in good positions, and will have put one of his opponent's pieces out of action. Proverbially it means that there is an obstacle ahead but it can be shifted.

HEU LUPE

223 The sport of *heu lupe*, pigeon catching, was carried out on a mound. Trained pigeons were used as decoys, and when the quarry approached near enough it was caught in a large net mounted on a pair of long handles hinged near the bottom end. The man who manipulated the net closed the mouth of it when the pigeon was inside by bringing the hinged handles together.

539 223 **587. Ala i jia ala i kolonga:** Skillful in *jia*, skillful in *kolonga*.

This expression originates in the sport of pigeon snaring. The mound where the snaring was actually carried out is called the *jia* and the place where the work (largely culinary) necessary for the comfort of the sportsmen was done is called the *kolonga*. This expression means literally a man whose energy and ability are equally conspicuous in either place, and is freely used of a good all-round man. [157] [829]

588. Fakalaa i jia melie: Enduring sun on lucky pigeon mound.

Although the principal times for the pigeon snaring are the morning and evening, yet one will put up with the inconveniences of the midday sun if the sport be good. So in any pursuit one will put up with inconveniences and hardships so long as his object is attained. [183]

589. Fakalaa i jia tamaki: Enduring sun in bad pigeon-mound.

The reverse of No. 589: enduring hardship and inconvenience for what after all proves to be not worth the pains. [183]

590. Faka-mui-manoa: At end of tethering cord.

The *manoa* is the cord with which the tame decoy pigeon was tied. However far the pigeon went it could always be traced along the cord, provided that the near end of the cord was still in hand. It is applied to a thing that has been out of sight for some time, but is at last traced up and found.

Another explanation given is that the decoy pigeon has reached its quarry without all the cord running out, there is still more to follow, and it is said to be applied to a conversation or other employment discontinued for the time, but "to be continued in our next." (See No. 591.) [521]

591. Motu manoa: Separated (from) tethering cord.

The cord with which a decoy pigeon is tied has run out to its full length and been let go. Applied to a thing which is finished; there is no more to follow.

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592. Koe fakanavau ke ha? To mark for what? 539

The *navau* is a distinguishing mark fixed to the body of an animal, 223
particularly the mark tied to the leg of the tame decoy pigeon. This is 422
used of marking what is obvious; what is the use of marking what is 431
plain to everyone? It is also used as a very open-hearted and genial re- 571
sponse to one who comes to make a request. What are you asking for? Anything that I have and you want, just take and welcome.

593. Kuku kaunaka: Grasp handle. 539

A phrase of the pigeon snaring, being an injunction to the men who 223
handled nets to hold the handles firmly lest the birds escape. Like *"Puke-puke a fufula,"* "Seize the big pig," it is an exhortation to devote one's 183
attention and energy to the task in hand.

594. Mounu vaoa: Decoy pigeon taken to the woods.

Applied to one who has relapsed into bad old habits, like the decoy bird who after all his taming and training has gone wild again.

BOXING, WRESTLING, CUDGEL PLAY

[These sports often formed part of important ceremonies and cele- 526
brations.]

595. Ta ji ta lahi ta atu pea ke tangi: Little one hits, big one hits, go on hitting, and you will cry. 539 526

The little one can cause very little pain to the big chap by his blows, 571
but the big fellow can make himself felt by the little one. So if it comes 578
to an exchange of blows between the big chap and the little chap it will 829
end in tears for the little one.

This is a word of wisdom, advising the little fellow to be modestly cautious about whom he undertakes to fight.

596. Va feinofi: Striking distance. 539

Primarily a boxing phrase, particularly of the sport called *toutakao* in 526
which a number of combatants participated, men choosing their opponents more or less at random. *Feinofi* means shaping at each other, challenging each other, and *va feinofi* is used of two men who are close enough to each other to spar. Thence simply "close."

597. Fetaaki a feiloaki: Cudgel play of men used to each other.

This indicates that each man gives a fine exhibition, as, being accustomed to the other's strokes and style, his own game has the precision that such experience always gives. The point that is emphasized is that both men fight like experts. (See Nos. 468 and 469.)

598. Ojioji palalafa: Coconut-leaf stem finished.

The coconut-leaf stem was used in practising for the club or single-sticks matches *(fetaaki)*. To finish the coconut-leaf stem, or to do one's

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539 526 utmost with the coconut-leaf stem, means to put one's whole strength and energy into this practice. The expression seems to be used particularly of team work, to do one's best for his team. These old contests were between teams though the combats were between individuals from either side.

539 526 183 152 **599. Teu toka ka koe tue:** I shall lie down, but the shouting. This is an expression from the ring. The lying down indicated is the being thrown down in wrestling. To be overcome and even to sustain severe injury is a thing that can be easily endured, but the shouting of the onlookers is quite another thing. Therein lies the unendurable shame of defeat. Baker renders the phrase, "To yield to fate but to fear derision."

539 526 **600. Toka a puka:** Lying of pig. An expression from wrestling, indicating that both wrestlers have fallen and that it is difficult to see who is getting the upper hand. The confused forms of the combatants would seem to be likened to a pig rolling on the ground. Used generally of an evenly contested match of any kind when it is hard to say who is the stronger.

601. Toka ki malae: Lying on (the) green, that is, on the green where such sports as boxing and wrestling are held.

This indicates one who has been defeated in a wrestling match, and has measured his length on the grass. In spite of his defeat there is to his credit that he had the courage to enter the contest and try.

602. Mafi to ki haa tuele: The explanation of this is forgotten by the present generation of Tongans, but the meaning given by Baker is: "To challenge when and where there is no prospect of an antagonist."

[57] A literal translation of the first part seems to be: "Victory falling to *haa tuele*, but the difficulty is to place the *haa tuele*. *Haa* is the ordinary word for a tribe, clan, but it is used very widely of almost any group of people associated together according to different principles, such as similarity of occupation. *Tuele* may be the proper name of some tribe, or clan, perhaps Samoan, but a not improbable conjecture is that it is the Samoan word *tuele*, meaning to stand on the ground, and that the phrase indicates that victory is going to those who merely stand on the ground and have no opponents to contend with. This is consonant with the interpretation given by Baker. It seems to be a phrase belonging to sports such as boxing, wrestling, single-sticks.

VELO FA AND JIKA

526 [*Velo fa* is the sport of throwing a dart at a mark; *jika* is distance throwing with light darts.]

539 526 **603. Tali fa:** Receiving pandanus. Although this translation is a literal rendering of the words it does not properly express the sense, which is rather that of making right with

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the pandanus. This is from the sport of *velo fa*, shooting at a mark consising of a piece of the trunk of the pandanus tree set up on end, the aim being to make the dart stand in the top of the pandanus stake. Sometimes a bunch of the fruit of the pandanus was hung up as the mark. In this sport the Tui Tonga, if he took part, threw last, and a man was stationed near the mark to catch the dart of this august chief and stick it into the mark. This man, and his duty, were both called *tali fa*. The expression is used of favoritism,—of securing success by extraneous assistance rather than one's own excellence. 539 526 539 526 643 [183]

604. Holi fa: Striving for pandanus. 539

This is from the game of *velo fa*. (See No. 603.) The phrase indicates a dart that has almost, but not quite, succeeded in sticking in the mark. It is used generally of a failure that is very near to success. 526

605. Jii kae amo: Short yet winning.

This is a word from the sport of *jika*, dart-throwing. In the long distance throwing contest the dart of the biggest chief taking part was frequently turned over length-wise if it were almost, but not quite, the best throw. This was adding a handicap of a dart's length to the chief's cast. The limit of this assistance to the chief was apparently three turns, three dart lengths. If with this handicap the chief was ahead he was reckoned the winner. 539 526 622 565

The expression is used proverbially of an undertaking which has succeeded, not by the unaided merit of its performance, but through extraneous help. [183]

606. Hange ha kaho halia: Like a glancing reed. 539

This is from the sport of *jika*, in which the dart was thrown so as to glance on a piece of level ground, or sometimes on a small mound, and ricochet on to a further distance. He who threw furthest won. The reed is the dart. A well thrown dart went on with fresh energy after glancing, and so the expression is applied to a fleet-footed runner, and generally to a willing and energetic performer in any sport or labor. 526

FANIFO

[The fine sport of *fanifo*, surf-riding in which the skill of the Tongans, as of other Polynesian peoples, evoked the wondering admiration of early travellers, seems now to be rarely, if ever, practised in Tonga.] 526

607. Auhia a motua fanifo: Man carried away by the current (or waves) who is skillful in the sport of shooting the breakers. 539 526

For an unskilled person to be carried out is a matter of grave concern, but for the man thoroughly at home amongst the waves no anxiety need be felt. So of the affairs of life generally, we may see a man involved in difficulties, but knowing, and having confidence in his energy and ability, we have no misgiving but that he will successfully win through. 183

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539 526 183 **608. Fanifo kave papa:** Surf-riding, borne by board.

The man who is not very skillful at the sport depends entirely on his board to get safely over the breakers, whereas to the real expert the board is a matter of indifference. Applied to the man who gets safely over his difficulties rather through assistance afforded him than by his own intrinsic merits.

609. Holo pe tuu he koe ngalu e faji: Keep places, for the wave will break.

An expression taken from the sport of riding the breakers *(fanifo)*. It may happen that the swimmers have to wait a considerable time for a suitable breaker, and that some of them will become impatient and begin to swim about or to divert themselves in some other way rather than watch attentively for a good wave: but the advice of the expert is to keep continually ready for the wave when it comes; only thus can one be sure of utilising opportunity when it does present itself. It is an exhortation to watchful patience.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 224 283 **610. Fai mai e hele pulu ki he hele kalava:** Snare of coconut husk brought to snare of fibre of the coconut leaf stem.

Of these two snares that made of the fibres taken from the stem of the leaf is tougher and stronger than that made of fibres from the husk of the ripe fruit. If these two sorts of cord were knotted together and a strain put on at the ends the weaker would break.

[571] Applied to a man trying to get the better of one who is stronger or cleverer than himself.

539 526 **611. Hange ha hapohapo tangamimi:** Like catching a bladder.

The pig's bladder is frequently taken and blown up, thrown about and caught by children at play, but on account of its lightness it is apt to bounce from the hands and is hard to catch. Used of boats tossed about by the waves, and generally of that which is elusive and difficult to get a firm hold of.

539 524 **612. Hange ha moli touhuhu:** Like a stabbed shaddock.

Originates in a boys' game called *touhuhu*, stabbing. A shaddock was suspended by a cord at a convenient height above the ground and the players stood round armed with small sharp sticks. The shaddock was sent swinging round and the boys made jabs at it with their sticks. A point was scored whenever the shaddock was impaled on the sticks, each player counting his own points. The score ran from six to ten, that is, the player won who first pierced the fruit five times. The shaddock by this treatment [701] was soon battered and war-worn. The phrase is applied especially to a much wounded warrior, and generally in the same way as we speak of a person or thing that is much scarred, war-worn.

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613. Luki aka fai ki Fiji: Challenging Fiji to a kicking match. 539 829 648

Used of an immoderate boast or challenge. Fiji is a country far from Tonga, and its inhabitants are numerous. To challenge Fiji, therefore, is doubly an immoderate boast. To reach the scene of action is no mean task, and when the initial difficulty of navigation is overcome one's hands will be more than full with so many antagonists.

614. Matakai ngalo oua e kau ai: Don't count a forgotten *matakai*. 539 524

This refers primarily to the game of *fiji*, or flipping, which consists in flipping one by one a bundle of small light sticks from the bottom of an inverted basket, or some such stand, across which they are laid. The *matakai* in this instance are the sticks. When a player has successfully flipped all the sticks (not so easy by the way as it looks) he says, "no forgotten sticks are to count," thus saving himself from all penalty should any be found to have dropped down and been overlooked. The expression comes to be a sort of general forestalling of the effects of any sins of omission

615. Tua ka matakai pipiki: A chap to stick to the matakai.

The *matakai* is the object with which the game of *liaki*, and other games, were played. This phrase refers to the game of *liaki*, in which one player held a small object such as an orange seed between two fingers, clenching the fist. The man who held the *matakai* put his clenched fists out in front of him while his opponent, without touching him, tried to make him laugh or squirm and drop the *matakai*. A man who was invulnerable to all the attacks made on his nerves or risibility was able to keep his fists tight shut and hold the *matakai*. Applied to one who is adept at sticking to things, who keeps a firm hold on his property, and also applied to one who keeps his own counsel. [157]

DANCING

616. Haka i langi tau: Dancing to suitable music. 539 535 533

Where the music is good and rhythmic the dancing will be easy and attractive, a fit vehicle of rejoicing and calculated to cause pleasure to the beholders. Strictly the word *langi* seems to denote rather the line or group of singers than the music itself. This phrase, written as one word, is freely used in the sense of joy, rejoicing.

617. Malanga i faiva: Getting up during dance. 539 535 183 [524] [526]

The word *faiva* is not confined to dances but is applied also to games and sports and generally to any employment requiring skill. The idea of this phrase is that of a man who should go, say, to a dance, not as a performer but simply as a spectator; but who during the dance is moved to get up and join in, though he has not practised for the occasion. He stands there in all his unpractised awkwardness among those who have perfected themselves in the movements. A useful warning for extemporaneous speakers. [537]

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539 535 776 787 [713] **618. Nofo a mama kae kailao e fakafaanga:** Men doing nothing while the gods dance.

More strictly *fakafaanga* seems to mean the material objects, including priests, in which the gods appeared. The phrase indicates that it is useless for men to let the gods have the entertainment of their dances while they themselves do nothing. Men are unable to share the enjoyment of the denizens of the unseen world, and so they must get to work and make their own fun.

539 535 183 868 **619. Taka i lalo hakanga:** Living below the dancing place, that is, in close proximity to it.

One who lives in a place where dances are constantly learned and performed has exceptional opportunities for becoming proficient. So the expression is used of one who enjoys great facilities for acquiring some art, knowledge, or other benefit, material, mental or spiritual.

UNCLASSIFIED PROVERBS

539 183 **620. Afi jii tupu ai e afi lahi:** Small fire, there springs from it the great fire.

A warning of the sort common in so many languages and literatures against the unwisdom of neglecting evil in its small beginnings. It is possible to use it also as an expression of the great good works that spring from humble beginnings.

539 777 **621. Alualu i mala tau ki monu:** Going along in misfortune, reaching good fortune.

It is used of one who, after being long involved in ill luck, at length [797] experiences a change of fortune and has prosperity. As a matter of actual present day experience one frequently hears it applied by the natives to their having been so long involved in the darkness of heathenism and having in these latter times come out into the light of Christianity.

[823] It is said that *Mala* (Curse, Misfortune), and *Monu* (Blessing, Good Fortune), are two places, and that one who has reached Mala finds it very difficult to return and get to Monu.

622. Alualu i monu tau ki mala: This is the reverse of No. 621.

Going along in good fortune, reaching misfortune, and is used of the change from prosperity to adversity.

539 152 571 695 **623. Fai mai ete meimei tangi:**

We have not succeeded in finding a contemporary Tongan able to explain this. All the words are in common use, and would seem to have some such meaning as "present (a case) almost weeping," as of one making a request with such earnestness that he is on the point of tears; or, taking the word *tangi* in the sense of "appeal, make a request," instead of that of "crying, weeping," we might render as, "I am come with almost a

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request," in some uncertainty as to whether to make the request or not. Baker, however, gives the somewhat cryptic forensic phrase, "Generally repeated; used when two persons report their cases, and the one hearing is alike affected by both." (An English and Tongan Vocabulary, p. 207.)

539 152 571 695

624. Fe-toutou-mo-liliu-aki: "To wander to and fro" (Baker). Constantly changing or going to and fro.

539 157

Of the different elements of this compound *toutou* is usually employed today as an adverb meaning constantly, repeatedly. Baker gives "alternate" as another meaning, and also has it as a verb, to reciprocate. *Mo* is the conjunction and *liliu* means to change; *fe-* and *-aki* are regularly used as prefix and suffix to make verbs reciprocal or reflexive. The whole word therefore seems to denote a very high degree of instability in opinion or conduct.

625. Hange ha mumu hulu: Like trying to get warm at a fire of dried leaves; a fire that flares up and quickly dies down.

539 183

Generally of that which makes a great show but is not solid and enduring.

626. Jio kalo jio: Seeing, warning off seeing.

The seeing indicated is that of looking after one's own interests. A man, in order to get something for himself, goes to a place where he has no particular right to be and tries to drive off another who is doing the same thing.

[57]

627. Maka fetoliaki: Chipping rock with rock.

539 571

Baker translates the phrase, "To be of one mind; to use freely from each other's stores." To be of mutual benefit. It is explained as meaning literally to chip off a piece from one stone with another and then to take that piece and use it to chip a fragment from a third rock, and so on. Thus to pass a benefit on from one to another. This was illustrated by the coming of Christianity, brought by Europeans to Tonga, and taken by Tongans to Samoa and Fiji, and by Fijians to the Solomon Islands.

[797] [648]

628. Makaka noa: Hard to no purpose.

539 183 829

Noa, here translated "to no purpose" is a very largely used word, and extremely difficult to translate by an exact English equivalent. It is used in all sorts of contexts with such senses as purposeless, valueless, unreliable, being where one has no business to be, acting as one should not. In the phrase above the idea is that of a thing being hard where it should be pliable and soft. The phrase may be applied to that whose conduct is unexpected, not of a piece with the general behavior of the class of things to which it belongs. For example, the outlandish behavior of the goat has won this epithet for it. It may be used of one who goes with great vim into some job that is not really his concern.

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539 **629. Nei ako maile e kakau:**

This division of the words is merely conjectural, and we have not been able to find a translation or explanation. Baker according to his custom prints the phrase as one word, thus, *Neiakomaileekakau*, and explains it as, "A phrase meaning, do it shall I be the only sufferer." (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p. 209.) Taking the word *maile* in the sense, found in Samoa *but not in Tonga, of a dog, the* expression may possibly mean, Is this going to teach the dog to swim? Although one may imagine circumstances in which such a meaning as this might come to have the sense indicated by Baker, yet in the absence of all legend accounting for the origin of the phrase it is impossible to judge of the value of any conjecture.

539 777 **630. Oku pule pe a seleselega:** Chance rules.

The unexpected happens; we are in the hands of fate.

539 **631. Pikopiko iku mai:** Winding about, arriving back at the end.

Used of one who turns aside from the road, and after much wandering gets back again at last. Baker gives this expression as applicable to a thing which after being taken from place to place returns at last to the original owner.

539 571 **632. Sosaa a tangata puli:** Anxiety of man (who is) hid.

This indicates one who makes occasional short appearances among others with whom he cannot agree; not so much with whom he has actual quarrels, but between whom and himself there is not agreement as to the proper way of going about things. His presence is a disturbing factor in their lives but they tolerate him, knowing that he will soon go away again, when they may pursue their own course undisturbed.

633. Taimalie a tangata vale: Opportunity of foolish man.

[829] This has its obvious meaning of opportunity thrown away on one who has not the skill or energy to turn it to advantage.

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[For information on norms and ethics as expressed in proverbs and folk *wisdom, see 8:* Collocott and Havea, Category 539.]